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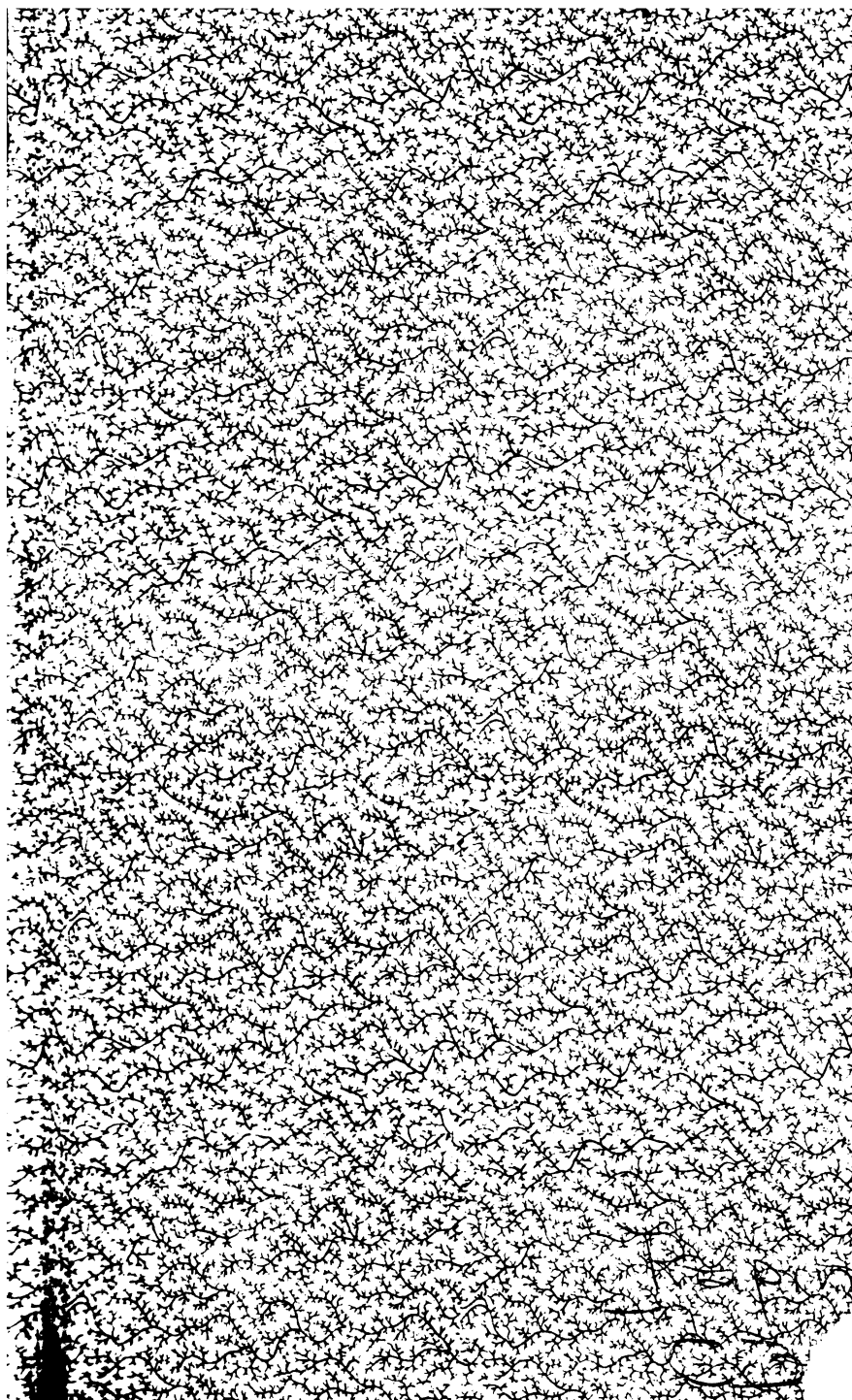
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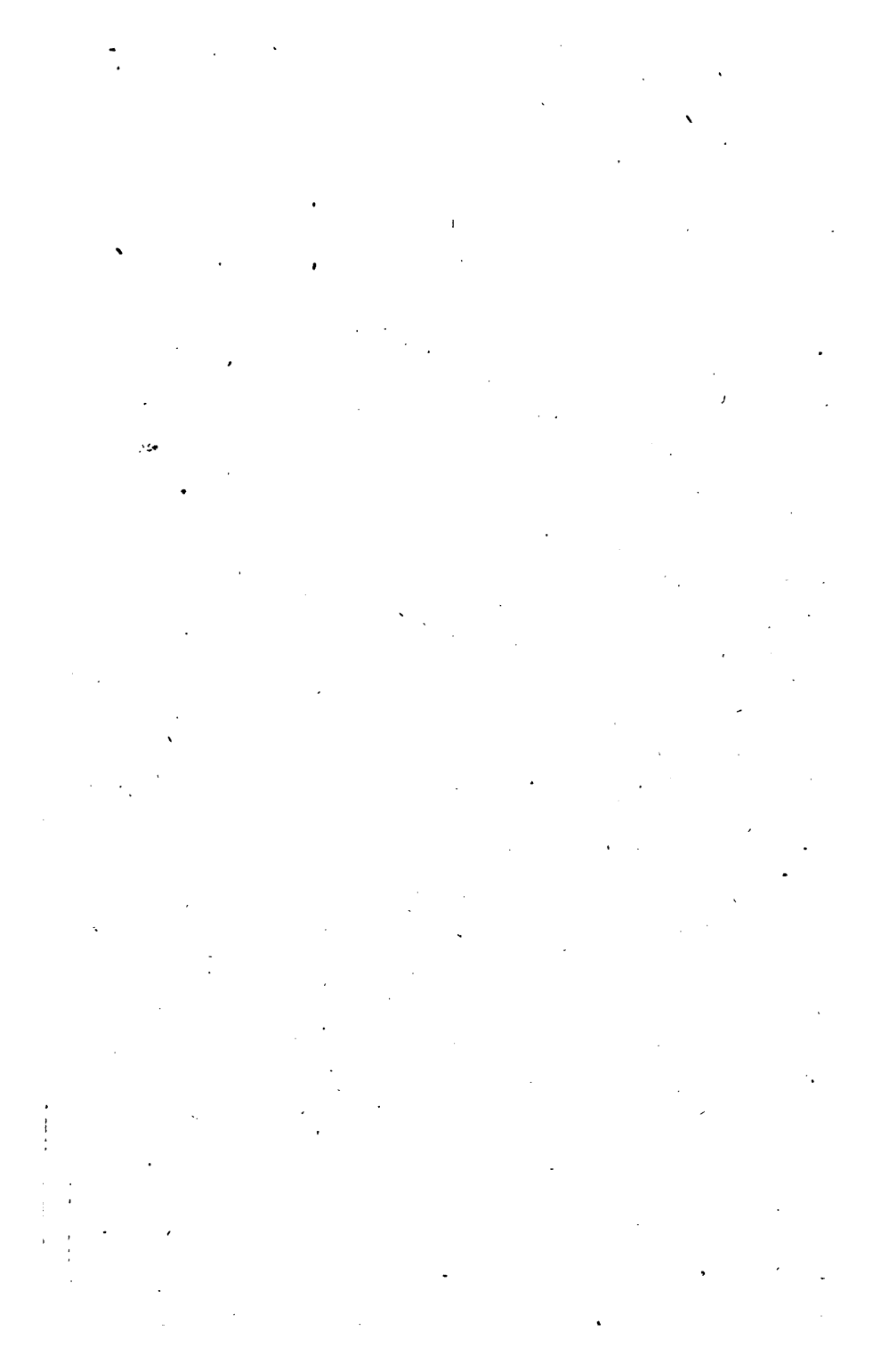
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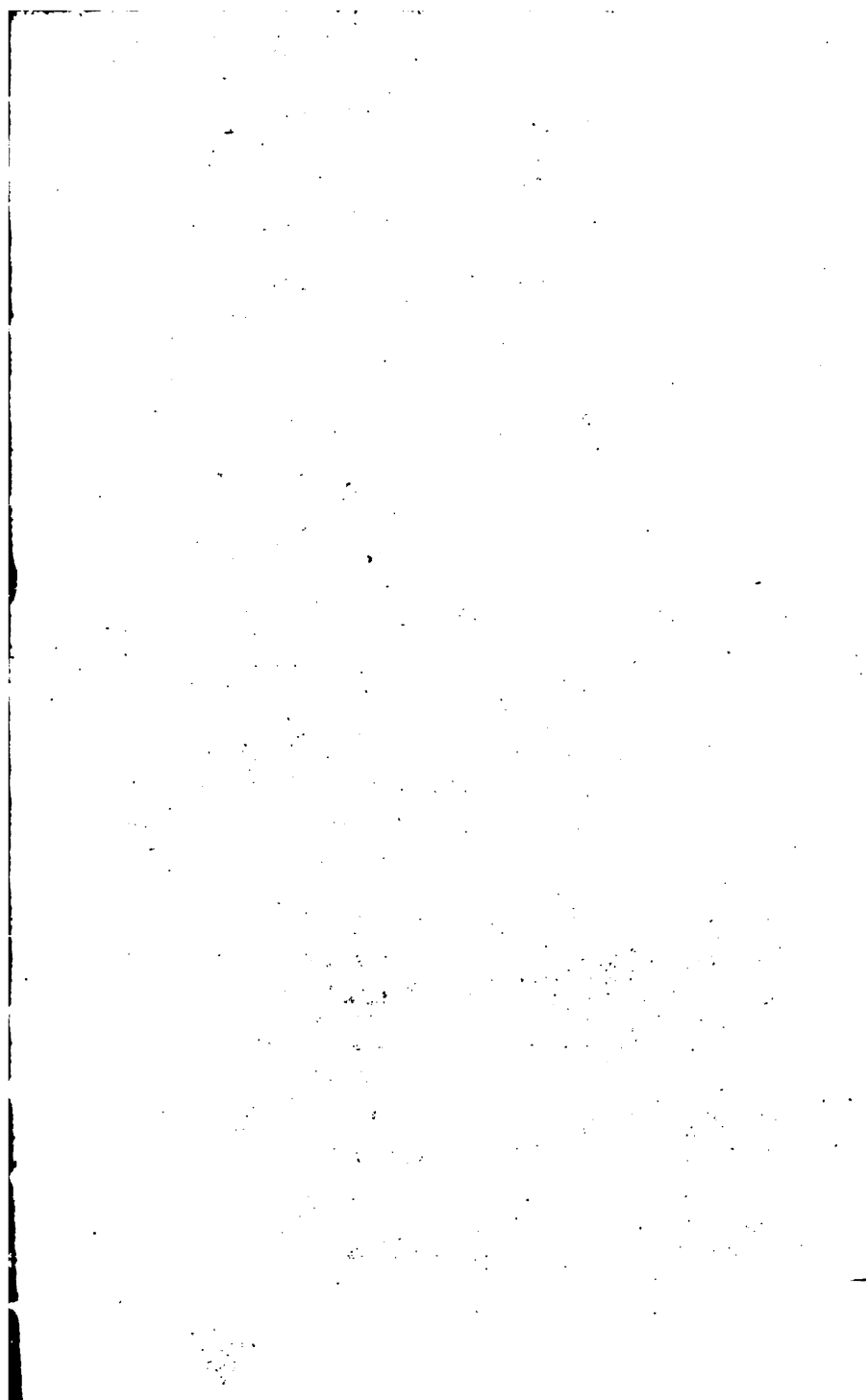


Robert Snow.











P. Lely p.

G. Vertue Sculp.

THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND,
AS WELL
Ecclesiastical as Civil.

BY
M^r. DE RAPIN THOYRAS.

VOL. XIII.

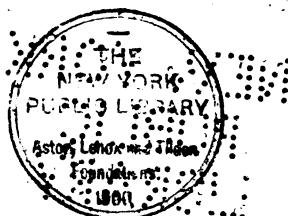
CONTAINING

- I. Memoirs of the Life of Mr. DE RAPIN.
 - II. The *Commonwealth*, Protectorates of *Oliver* and *Richard Cromwell*, &c. with the Twelve first Years of the Reign of CHARLES II.
-

Done into *ENGLISH* from the *FRENCH*, with large and useful *NOTES* mark'd with an *, by
N. TINDAL, *A. M.* Vicar of Great-Waltham in *Essex*.

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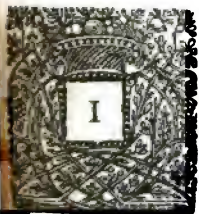


A
L E T T E R
T O

M^R. -----

*Containing some Particulars of
the Life of Mr. DE RAPIN
THOYRAS.*

S I R,



Imagined you would be surprized at my Backwardness to second your Design of Writing the Life of Mr. DE RAPIN. This has given me some Concern, for I would fain have complied with your Motion : But to say the Truth, I could not now come to any Resolution. I know not how the Publick stands affected, and though I suppose with you, that the World would be glad to be acquainted with Mr. DE RAPIN, I should think nothing can better satisfy their Curiosity than his new *History of England*, it not being possible, in my Opinion,
V. L. XIII. A 2

A Letter to Mr. ---- containing some

nion, but in so voluminous a Work, an Author draws his own Picture himself, though undesign'd more to the Life than any other Hand can do. you say this is not sufficient, because there is nothing said concerning his Family, and the Adventures may have run through: I answer, that the two Logies of Mr. DE RAPIN, one in the Xth Volume of the *Bibliothèque Germanique*, the other in the *Revue Littéraire* of February 1726, seem to contain that is proper to be said on these two Heads. He you are sensible that I have not the same Scruple about what you propose at present, that at least the Elogies may appear again prefixed to the *History of England*. Indeed I do not see any Inconvenience in it. What is more, I am resolv'd to publish them myself, but with some Alterations; that is to say, of the two I design to make one Discourse, borrowing from both what shall occur to my Mind, without studying either to swerve from, or to copy after them, that there may be room to insert some Particulars that are pass'd over in Silence. It may perhaps go too far, contrary to my first Intention; however that be, you may depend upon it I shall say nothing but what I have been fully and perfectly inform'd of, and what Mr. DE RAPIN's Family is ready to justify. Mean while, as in this Thing I have no other View but your Satisfaction, you may use what use you please of this Letter, suppress it if you do not like; nay, if you think fit, content yourself with the Elogies alone, such as they were at which perhaps would be best. But to begin:

Mr. DE RAPIN, counted among his Ancestors and Relations many eminent Persons as well Warriors as Gownsmen. His Family is originally from Savoy, where it flourished Time out of Mind*, and

* By the Titles of this Family it appears that the Rapin. Noble in the Year 1250. The Branches that are in Savoy go to a greater Antiquity: But of that I can say nothing.

Particulars of the Life of Mr. de Rapin.

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several honourable Posts *. As for personal Qualities I have no Information, so cannot say whether it was owing to a prudent Care, or in order to immortalize an ill-grounded Enmity, that a Bishop of St. John de Maurienne caused to be engraved, in the Episcopal Palace, an Inscription which is still to be seen in these Words, *Caveant Successores nostri a familiâ Rapinorum*, that is, *Let our Successors beware of the RAPINS.* On the other Hand, this Family pretends that their external Lustre was impaired purely on account of their steady Adherence to the Laws of Honour and Justice. This is what is insinuated by the Author of the following Verses, which are not quoted here for their Elegance.

*Pour n' avoir sans besoin su prendre,
On voit tomber cette maison :
Si l' Effet eût suivi son nom
Elle auroit de quoi se defendre.*

That is,

This Family, being too honest to invade the Property of others, is gone to decay. Had they been given to what their Name implies, they would have wherewithal to support themselves.

But to draw nearer to Mr. DE RAPIN, I come to four Brothers of that Name, who settled in France in the Reign of Francis I, *1.

One, a Clergyman, was *Almoner* to Queen *Catharine de Medicis*, who sent to the Duke of Savoy for him. Besides the Preferments he enjoyed in his own Country, he was called the King's *Orator*, but what that means I cannot tell.

* It is known in general, that some of the *Rapins* at several Times were *Syndicks* of the Nobles of their Country: others were admitted by the Nobility to go in their Name and do Homage to the Duke of Savoy their Sovereign.

* Between the Years 1525 and 1547.

His Brothers, of whom but one left any Childr were all three Soldiers, and embraced the Reform Religion : Nay, it is very probable that they abandoned their Country for the sake of professing same.

The eldest was a Colonel of Foot, and Governor of *Montauban*, with Authority over the neighbouring Governours. His Name is among those of Viscounts, who commanded the Troops of the reformed in the Southern Parts of *France*. Letters extant show how well known he was to King *Henry IV*, to *Lewis* and *Henry* Princes of *Condé*, to Admiral *Chastillon*, and to several other Persons of the Quality.

All we know of one of his Brothers called *Philippe* is that a Commission of Captain of Horse must, in all Circumstances, have been his ; but of this we cannot be sure, because there is no Name expressed in

Philipbert another Brother, was Gentleman to Prince of *Condé*, and afterwards his Seward *. His Reputation as a Soldier was as great as his Capacity for Business *1 ; but both proved fatal to him,

* *Maître d' Hôtel de sa Maison*, that is to say, he had the management of the Prince's House in the highest Sense of the Word, and not as we understand the Term *Steward* at present.

*1 *Bello strenuus*, says *Thuanus*, lib. 32.

In fine, *Rapin* was in great Repute amongst his own People. The Conspirators of *Thoulouse* made choice of him to treat in his Name with *Fourquevaux*, which is a clear Evidence that he had Head to manage, as well as a Hand to act. *Annals of Thoulouse* Ann. 1568.

The Conference spoken of in this Passage, was held to see whether there was any way of Accommodation between the two Parties ; but it proved fruitless, and only served to exasperate them more than ever. Shortly after a Battle was fought in the City which lasted some Days, wherein the Protestants who were preponderant there, but however inferior in Number to the Catholics, lost three Thousand Men, and were in the end chased out of the City. A solemn Procession was instituted in Commemoration of this Event. When Peace was restored, the Reformed complained of this Procession, as a Thing which revived the Memory of their Troubles, whereupon it was prohibited for the future ; nevertheless it has been all along continued ; only it was removed from the 12th of May, to the 17th, on some Pretext or other.

they drew upon him the Enmity of the *Catholicks*, and especially of the Parliament of *Thoulouse* *, who caused his Head to be struck off at the very Time that he was come, by the King's Order, to have the Edict of the Peace of 1568 to be registered.

The *French* Historians speak several Times of these two Brothers. Only Father *Daniel* does not mention them, and passes over in Silence, the cruel Execution just spoken of *¹. The Reason does not appear at first, for he cannot say, this Sentence how unjust soever it may be supposed, is only a private Affair, which therefore he might omit if he pleased, since it is visible on the contrary, that such an Event, rendered memorable *² by its Circumstances and Consequences ought, to have Place in History. But when we consider, we find this able Historian has very artfully managed this Omission for two Uses; first, to wipe out, as far as in them lay, all remembrance of a Rage which reflects such Dishonour on the *Papists*; secondly, to render the *Reformed* odious, when he comes to speak of the Ravages committed by the Admiral's Army some Time after about *Thoulouse*. Mean while, with regard to these Ravages, he was

* *Homo bellis superioribus*———*Clarus ob idque Tolosanis inuisus*. Thuan. lib. 32.

*¹. It might be alledged that there are no Proofs of it. But since *Thuanus* and *Mezerai*, with whom few Writers can be compared for Faithfulness, speak of it, it must be inferred either that there were Proofs in their Days, or that they were warranted by the Notoriousness of the Fact. And what puts it out of all question is, that *M. de la Faille*, who wrote last at *Thoulouse* the Annals of that City of which he was *Syndic*, though he takes notice that the *Arrest* against *Rapin* is not to be found (having been doubtless razed out of the Registers for the Parliament's Honour;) yet says more of the Matter than all those that went before.

*². This Execution of *Rapin* made a great Noise, and the Prince very justly complained of it to the King and Queen. Their Majesties also expressed great Resentment against the Parliament of *Thoulouse*, in their Letters to them on that Occasion. Annals of *Thoulouse*. Ann. 1568.

It is left to the Reader to judge whether any Thing like this would have happened for a private Concern.

not so free as he would fain have been, and was obliged to keep to general Terms, for he could not descend to Particulars, without discovering the Connexion between these Ravages and RAPIN's Death, which was the Cause of them as well as the Thing that justified them*. But what he slightly mentions only, *Tbuanus* and *Mezerai* relate more at large, and set in a true light. *Mezerai*, who gives a particular Account of Matters, and tells us that there were then in *Tbolouse* eight Thousand regular Troops, which added to the great Number of Inhabitants, took from the *Reformed* all Hopes of becoming Masters of the City, says expressly that the *Hugonots*-----set Fire to all the Lands and Houses of the Counsellors, on the Ruins whereof the Soldiers writ with the smoaking Coals, RAPIN's RENEGE.

Peter de Rapin, Baron of *Mauvers*, Son of *Pbilibert*, was Governour of *Mas-Granier* one of the Cautionary-Towns granted to the *Reformed* in *Guienne*. He was a Souldier from his Youth, and attended King *Henry IV* in all his Expeditions. For the most Part of that Time, he received not a Penny of his Income, which threw him into great Straits, as was the Case of many others on the same Account. The King himself was in no better Circumstances, as may be inferred from his Answer to Mr. DE RAPIN; who having lost his Horse, besought his Majesty to give him where-withal to get another: *I would*, says he, *with all my Heart; but see, I have scarce a Shirt to my Back*. But Mr. DE RAPIN's Sufferings in the Religious Wars was not confined to what passed in the Army. He saw his House burnt and battered down thrice in his Life, and all his Things plundered.

* *Incentis oppidanorum et senatorum, præcipuè circa urbem, prædijs, quòd eos à publicâ quiete maximè omnium abhorreere dicerent Protestantes, recenti adhuc ob oculos observante Rapini, ante biennium à Rege et Condæo ut Edicti pacificatorii promulgationem urgeret, in urbem missi, et ignmani perfidiâ ignominiosq; supplicio affecti, memoriâ; cujus indignam necem illi, inauditis et jure belli inconcessis vastationibus, ulcum iri testabantur. Tbuanus. lib. 42.*

ed. It is true, he had Amends made him the last Time, as far as was possible, and in a Manner which must have been very agreeable to him: For the Catholick Gentlemen in the Neighbourhood, who had a great Value and Friendship for him, meeting together, resolved to supply, each Man his Share, what was wanted to till and sow his Lands; and as those Troubles lasted but Eight Months, when they were over, he found a Crop ready, and all his Estate, excepting his House, in as good Condition as the most diligent Owner could have kept it. On another Occasion, he had a Satisfaction without the least Tincture of Bitter in it; which was that a Report being spread of his Death, he read himself a Letter to his Family from Queen *Mary de Medicis*, expressing her great Sorrow for it. He married a Daughter of Mr. *de Lupé*, Lord of *Maravet*, Captain of 50 Men of Arms, Governour of *Mauvezin* a Cautionary-Town, and a Major-General.

He left a numerous Issue, of whom his second Son *James, Sieur de Thoyras* * was the Father's and Mother's Darling. His Father left him more than any of the other younger Children, and his Mother gave him over and above his Share with the Rest, that Portion of the Estate of *John de la Ferriere*, Vidame *₁ of *Chatres*, and one of the Heads of the *French-Prottestants*, which fell to her in Right of her Mother. He was designed for a Soldier, like his Brothers; but his Mother willing he should be near her, was for having him bred a Scholar, to which the Father consented. After he had gone through a Course of Study, he was admitted Advocate in the Court of the *Edict* *₂ at *Castres*, and, contrary to the Custom of the Country, where Persons nobly descended are never of that Profession, he exercised the

* The Name of a Village belonging to his Family.

*₁ i. e. Judge of the Bishop's Temporal Jurisdiction.

*₂ *Les Chambres de l'Edit* were Courts of Judicature erected in several Towns, in Behalf of the *Hugonots*, the Judges being half Reformed and half Catholics.

Functions thereof as well at *Castres* as at *Castlenaudary* and *Thoulouse* above Fifty Years, and that is as long as he lived. It is true, I include the Four Years he spent at *Paris*, whither he went upon News of Mr. *Pellisson* his Brother-in-Law's being arrested with Mr. *Fouquet*. Nothing passed in that famous Affair, but what he was privy too, and he was very serviceable in many Respects. He was one of the Three who were concerned in the *Factum*, and supplied all we find there relating to the *Roman Law*. I saw in *France* a Letter to him from Mr. *Fouquet* when in the *Bastile*, thanking him for it in the most affectionate Manner. All that knew him, of whom several are now living, always give him the Character of one of the prime *Advocates* of his Time, and assure us that few equalled him in Impartiality and Integrity. His Wife, who died at *Geneva*, where she was sent by the King's Order for refusing to turn *Papist*, was Sister of *George* and *Paul Pellisson*, whose Memory is still fresh. Her Father and Grandfather were Counsellors to the Parliament of *Thoulouse*, and in the Court of the Edict at *Castres*. *Raymond Pellisson* her Great-Grand-Father, after having been Master of the Requests, and Ambassadour to *Portugal*, was at last first President of the Senate of *Chamberi*, and Deputy-Governour in *Savoy*, whilst in Possession of the *French*. I say nothing of a very extraordinary Thing that happened to him, and of which several Authors* speak very largely; nor of his Descendants above-named, because I should only copy what is to be found in the Supplement to *Moreri's Dictionary* printed at *Amsterdam* in 1716. This Family, from whence sprang several illustrious Persons*¹, is originally *English**², and comes from an Attorney-General to the Prince of *Wales* when in *Guienne*.

I pro-

* *Recueil d'Arrêts*. de Papon, Liv. 19. Art. 9. *Histoires Admirables* de Simon Goulart. Tom. I. p. 6.

*¹ See *Recherche des Antiquitez de la Langue Françoisse ou Dictionnaire Gaulois*, By Borel.

*² Borel in the same Place, p. 377.

I proceed now to Mr. DE RAPIN, who is properly the Subject of my Letter. PAUL DE RAPIN, *Sieur de Thoyras* younger Son of *James*, was born at *Castres* * *March 25th 1661*. He began to study the *Latin Tongue* under a Tutor his Father kept in the House, after which he was sent to *Puylaurens*, and from thence to *Saumur*. At this last Place, when about Seventeen Years Old, he and one of his Friends falling out about a Trifle, they immediately appointed a Place to meet and fight. But whether it was a good while before they could get their Swords, for being *Students* they commonly wore none, or the Duel held long, Night came whilst they were at it; and then Mr. DE RAPIN's Sword broke near the Hilt without his knowing of it. His Adversary perceiving it first, generously told him of it. Whereupon they gave over, and embracing each other returned back together to Town. Some Time after he had another Quarrel with a Person much Older than himself, who rudely pushed him as he was walking in a narrow rugged Passage. Mr. DE RAPIN fell upon him, but Company being by, they were quickly parted. He ran and fetched his Sword, and returned to the Place; but the Bird was flown; neither could he meet with him though he carefully sought him several Days. Some Time after, he heard the Man was gone to *Paris*, whither Mr. DE RAPIN followed him. He was no sooner arrived but he was taken up by a Guard of the Marshals of *France*. This Accident which he did not expect, imagining his Design was unknown as he had not imparted it to any Body, was occasioned by the Advice Mr. *Pellisson* his Unkle received even from *Saumur*, from whence some Body sent him Word what was thought of his Nephew's Journey, which might be of ill Consequence, telling him withal where he might be heard of. Mr. *Pellisson* fearing a Duel would follow, which however it ended would

ruin his Nephew, acquainted the Marshals of *France* with the Matter; Mr. DE RAPIN being yet very young, having afforded them Opportunity to secure him by going directly to his Unkles. The Marshals having heard both Parties, condemned the Aggressor to lie in Prison at *Fort-l' Evêque*, till Mr. DE RAPIN should consent to his Discharge, which he did about a Month after at the Desire of the Prince of *Furstemburg* Bishop of *Strasburg*, who was then at *Paris*. Mean while, the very next Day after the Sentence, the Prisoner's Brother, who was reckoned a good Sword's-man, meeting Mr. DE RAPIN in the Street, accosted him, and talking to him as if he had a Mind to renew the Quarrel, Mr. DE RAPIN answered him by drawing his Sword, and wounded him before any Body came to part them: But this Rencounter was kept secret by the Advice of the Friends of both Parties, for fear the Marshals should be angry.

In the Beginning of the Year 1679 Mr. DE RAPIN returned to his Father, in order to apply himself closely to the Study of the Law. But before he had made any Progress, he was obliged with many other young Gentlemen to commence *Advocate*, upon Notice of an *Edict* which was published soon after, that no Man should take a *Doctor's Degree* unless he had studied Five Years in some *University*.

This same Year, the *Courts of the Edict* were suppressed, by which Mr. DE RAPIN's Family were forced to remove to *Tboloufe*. Not long after, Mr. DE RAPIN perceiving the ill State of the *Reformed*, and that, in all likelihood, their Condition would daily grow worse, desired his Father's Consent to quit the Profession of *Advocate* for that of Arms. His Father without absolutely denying his Request, returned such an Answer as only served to put the Thing off. Not that the Request seemed to him unreasonable or ill-grounded: But he was apprehensive this new way of Life, where Ambition fires a Man more than in any other, would expose his Son

to great Temptation, when he should see by what happened every Day, that it would not be possible for him to rise to any tolerable Post as long as he adhered to his Religion; whereas that Obstacle being removed, he might hope to be advanced like the Rest. The State of Uncertainty he was in, made him very remiss in the Study of the Law. He pleaded however a Cause as *Advocate*; but he went no farther, and applied himself more close than ever, to the reading of good Authors, to the *Mathematicks*, and to *Musick*, in which he acquired great Skill.

In the Year 1685 his Father died, and Two Months after the *Edict* of *Nantz* was revoked. Upon which Mr. DE RAPIN retired into the Country with his Mother and Brothers. But as the Persecution shortly after was at the Height, he departed with his youngest Brother and came with him into *England*, in the Month of *March* 1686.

Not long after, arrived at *London* a *French* Abbot of Quality, and Friend to Mr. *Pellisson*, who made Mr. DE RAPIN frequent Visits, and introduced him to Mr. *de Barillon* the *French* Ambassadour, from whom Mr. DE RAPIN received a great many Civilities. These Gentlemen would fain have perswaded him to go and wait upon the King, assuring him of a gracious Reception. Mr. DE RAPIN, who could not see any Pretensions he had to such an Honour; and besides, was apprehensive that a Proposal seemingly so Advantageous might tend to his Prejudice, excused himself in the handsomest Manner he could. This Business put him upon seriously reflecting on the State he was in; continually teased about his Religion, sometimes by the Marquess of *Seissac* and other *French* Catholics then at *London*, but especially by the Abbot, who, though he was extremely Courteous and Civil, always turned the Conversation to controverted Points. Perceiving therefore that it was not possible for him to maintain his Ground, especially *ex tempore*, against a Man who had all the Arguments at command, and managed them with great Art,

Art, he resolved to return into the Country, from whence he was come to visit the Abbot, without so much as taking his Leave of him. He knew he was guilty of ill Manners; but he chose to be so, rather than remain any longer exposed as he was.

As he had no Prospect then in *England*, he made no long Stay there; but going over to *Holland*, where he had some Relations, he listed himself in a Company of *French Volunteers* at *Urecht*, commanded by *Mr. de Rapin* his Cousin German.

The same Year, *Mr. Pellisson* published his *Reflections on Religious Differences*, and sent them to *Mr. DE RAPIN*, charging him to let him know his Opinion of them; which he did, and pretty largely, as he said himself, retorting, in several Places, *Mr. Pellisson's* Expressions: But nothing of this is to be found among his Papers. Not that I think it either lost or mislaid; but rather believe that out of Self-Diffidence he never took a Copy, in an Opinion that what he could say on such a Subject was not worth preserving.

He was still in the Company of *Voluntiers* when they went into *England* with the Prince of *Orange*. But in 1689, the Lord *Kingston* gave him an *Ensign's* Commission in the first Company of his Regiment, with which he went over to *Ireland*. At the Siege of *Carrickfergus*, just after his Arrival, he had the good Fortune to gain the Esteem of the Officers of the Regiment, and especially of Lieutenant-Colonel *Fielding*, who, in less than a Year, helped him to a Lieutenantcy.

This was a very severe Campaign, for the Army was ill provided with Necessaries, at least with respect to the Conveniencies of Life. This gave Occasion to a Scene which *Mr. DE RAPIN* was wont to remember with Pleasure. He was one Evening with some of his Comrades, who agreed upon having a very notable Drinking-Bout. A Major passing by, one of those whom nothing touches so nearly as the want of a Bottle, and hearing them laughing and merrily

merrily toasting Healths, came into the Tent, and told them he was come to partake of their Mirth. He was received with a loud Huzza, and assured by the Company of a hearty Welcome to what they had. All this while he kept his Eyes upon a large Bowl full of Liquor which they sat round, with each Man a Glass or Cup in his Hand. But he quickly found it was mere Element; which made him brush off very abruptly, amazed that Water-Drinkers could be so merry, and not a little mortified at his having supplied the young Sparks with fresh Matter for Laughter.

In the Beginning of 1690, the Regiment which Mr. DE RAPIN belonged to, was given to Lieutenant-General *Douglas*, who, upon the Recommendation of Three *French* Colonels of the Army, took more Notice of him than of the Rest of the Subalterns, and afterwards put very great Trust in him. After the Battle of the *Boyne*, in which Mr. DE RAPIN was present, General *Douglas* was detached with his own, and Twelve other Regiments Horse and Foot, to go and make a Diversion about *Athlone*, and if possible to seize the Town. He appointed Mr. DE RAPIN and Mr. *Carlis* now Lieutenant-General in *Portugal*, to do the Office of Quarter-Master-General of his little Army. This Siege not proving successful, the Town being strongly garrisoned, General *Douglas* was recalled. Mr. DE RAPIN, who was sent before to receive Orders, coming to the Head of the *Line*, met the King there; who stopping him, asked several Questions, to which Mr. DE RAPIN made such Answers as served to remove some ill Impressions infused into his Majesty concerning *Douglas's* Conduct. At the Assault of *Limerick*, he was shot in the Shoulder, and next Day the Siege was raised, so that he was forced to ride Four Miles on Horseback in great Anguish. He was carried off with the rest of the wounded Men, among whom was his Brother, who was shot through the Body. Thus he lost his Regiment which

was ordered to the *North*. But not long after, he heard General *Douglas* had procured him a *Company*, and got him to be admitted in his Absence. It was the same *Company* where he had been *Ensign*, and where was still the same Lieutenant which made Mr. DE RAPIN extremely uneasy.

The next Year, General *Douglas* had Orders to go to *Flanders*. Mr. DE RAPIN, whom he designed for his *Aid de Camp*, not being in a Condition to follow him [by Reason of his Wound] advised him to take another, whom the General soon made a Captain in the *Scotch Guards*, whereof he was himself become Colonel. The Campaign opened in *Ireland* with the taking of *Baltimore*, where Mr. DE RAPIN had the Satisfaction to do a Kindness to a poor distressed Family in Prison, with whom he had got Acquaintance the Year before. He was afterwards at the Siege of *Atblone*, and at the Assault which was made through the River that runs under the strongest Rampart of the Town, a very bold Action which succeeded, as it is thought, contrary to the Expectation of the General-Officers. In this Town were left Two Regiments of different Nations, commanded by the Lieutenant-Colonels who understood not each other's Language, and who were both very Jealous of their Rights, which might have occasioned many Disputes. Luckily, Mr. DE RAPIN happened to belong to one, and an intimate Friend of his, a Captain of good Sense, to the other, who were both equally esteemed by their respective Commanders, so that whenever any Accident fell out, that was like to breed a Quarrel, these Two Officers, who were biassed by no Passion, agreed betwixt them what was to be done, and gave their Advice accordingly, and always with good Success.

After that, Mr. DE RAPIN was sent successively to several Garrisons, and amongst the rest to *Kilkenny*, where he frequently waited on the Bishop, who seemed pleased with his Conversation. This Acquaintance

tance would have been very agreeable to him, could he have enjoyed it peaceably: The sharp Contests, which daily broke out between the Mayor and the Officers, scarce allowed him a Moment's Quiet. He often spent his Time in stifling them, and was a great Means to hinder them from proceeding to Extremities. Mean while, the Fear he was under that Matters might at last be brought to such a Pitch that there would be no Remedy, made him gladly embrace the Opportunity of going to command Two Companies in another Place. Some Time after he joined his Regiment again at *King'sale*, where he contracted an intimate Friendship with Sir James Waller who commanded there.

About the End of the Year 1693 he received an Order to come to *England*, without being told the Reason; but at the same Time, a Letter from Mr. *Belcastel* informed him, that he was to be Governour to the Earl of *Portland's* Son, who was afterwards created a Duke. He could not conceive how it came about, having never dreamt of any such Thing: And it was some Time first before he came to know that he had been recommended by the Lord *Galloway*. He repaired therefore to *London* and entered upon his Office. Here was an End of all his Hopes of rising in the Army to such Posts as several of his Friends, who were not so forward as he, attained to. All the Amends he received, was Leave to resign his Company to his Brother, who died in 1719, having been Lieutenant-Colonel in a Regiment of *English* Dragoons. It is true indeed, some Time after the King granted him a Pension of a Hundred Pounds a Year till he should better provide for him, which never happened. So he enjoyed his Pension several Years; but after that Prince's Death it ceased, and instead of it he had a Place given him, which brought him in but a moderate Income.

His new Employment of Governour obliged him to go very often to *Holland*, and back again to *Eng-*
Vol. XIII. B land,

land, and also to *France*, whilst the Earl of *Portland* was Ambassador there, till such Time as the young Lord fixed himself at the *Hague*, where he learned his *Exercises*. During which Time, that is, in the Year 1699, Mr. DE RAPIN married *Mariamne Toftart*, a good Match, of whom I shall say nothing as she is living. This did not hinder him from minding his Pupil, and attending him in his Travels. He began with *Germany*, where they made some Stay at several Courts, and particularly at *Vienna*. From thence they passed into *Italy*, by Way of *Tyrol*, where they saw Marshal *Villeroy* there a Prisoner, who gave Mr. DE RAPIN a Letter for Cardinal d' *Etrées* who was at *Venice*.

At his Return, his Employment being at an End, he went back to his Family, who in his Absence lived at the *Hague*, where he spent some Years. All that While he made good use of his leisure Hours as far as the common Duties of Life would allow, in resuming the Study of *the Art of Fortification*, and above all of *History*, which put him upon drawing up abundance of *Genealogical* and *Chronological Tables*; as well General as Particular. But what was most agreeable to him, and as he thought, equally instructive, was his being a Member of a Society or Club still in Being, to the erecting of which he was proud of having contributed, where several Persons of Learning and Merit reasoned upon such Subjects as occurred, and spoke their Thoughts on such Questions as were usually proposed. Nevertheless, as he found his Family increasing, he resolved to sacrifice to the Good of his Children the Pleasures he enjoyed at the *Hague*, by retiring to a cheaper Country. Accordingly he removed to *Wezel* in the Dutchy of *Cleves*, in the Year 1707. He found here a good Number of *French Refugees*, among whom were several Officers, Men of Quality, with whom he lived in a friendly Manner; and he was also received as kindly as could be expected, by Persons of the highest Rank, who were chiefly concerned in the Government

vernment of the Country, and who, on all Occasions, gave him Marks of their Favour.

The Way of living at *Wezel*, different in many respects from that at the *Hague*, made him more Master of his Time than ever he had been, and allowed him almost as much Leisure as he could desire, to study the History of *England*, and the Nature of the Government. This was a more extensive Design than perhaps it seemed to be at first; for it led him, not only to peruse all the *English* Historians, but those of other Nations too, who had any Thing in Common, or any Contests with the *English*, in order to get Information, and come to the Truth of the Facts by comparing them together. He would have found it a difficult Task to succeed, or rather he would probably have never accomplished his Design, had he not before qualified himself for reading in their original Tongue all the Books he was obliged to consult. But besides *Greek* and *Latin*, which he learnt at the College, and had since improved, he understood *Italian* and *Spanish*, not to mention *High* and *Low-Dutch*, of which indeed he was not so much Master as of the Rest. As for *English*, which was the most necessary of all, he had made that his particular Study.

About this time, he was one Day at the Count de *Lottum's*, Velde-Marshal of *Prussia*, Governour of the Dutchy of *Cleves*, where, in talking of the Affairs of *England*, a good deal was said about *Whigs* and *Tories*. Mr. DE RAPIN thought their Discourse showed, they had not a true Notion of these two Factions. Wherefore he resolved to digest into Order the Remarks he had made on that Subject. And this was his *Dissertation on the Whigs and Tories* *. This Treatise perhaps would never have been published, had it not happened to be shown to Sir *Andrew Fountain* (late Vice-Chamberlain to her Royal Highness the Princess of *Wales*, now Queen of *Eng-*

* It will be printed at the End of the XIVth Volume.

A Letter to Mr.---- containing some

land) who having long expressed great Kindness and Friendship for Mr. DE RAPIN, spent some Days with him at *Wezel*. Sir *Andrew*, who is a very curious polite Gentleman, thought this Dissertation deserved to be made publick, and brought it himself to the *Hague*, in order to have it printed, which was accordingly done in the Year 1717.

I should now speak of *the History of England*, which was Mr. DE RAPIN's main Employment: but he acquaints us himself how he came to be engaged in this Work, the little Satisfaction he found in it, and by what means he was encouraged not only to pursue it, but even to form a more extensive Plan than what he at first designed. All I shall add relates to his unexpected Help, I mean, *the Collection of the Publick Acts of England*. I shall not stay to remark that in order to make the best Use of these *Acts*, he was obliged to peruse and examine Seventeen Volumes in *Folio*, a long and tedious Work; and what chiefly deserves notice is, that Mr. DE RAPIN's Extracts from thence are of great Moment to the History of *England*. This no doubt will be allowed, if it is considered that *the Collection* itself [being printed at the Charge of the Government] was not exposed to Sale, and consequently hard to come at. But I verily believe, were it as common as it is scarce, the Extracts would not cease to be useful, not only because they contain within a moderate Compass whatever is remarkable in so voluminous a Work, but chiefly by reason such Books are seldom or never consulted, but on some particular Account; and so much time and pains are required to find what lies dispersed in so many Volumes: whereas it presently occurs in these Extracts where the same Matters are ranged under proper Heads. These Extracts were printed all together in *Quarto* and in *Octavo*, at the Charge of the famous Mr. *Fayel*, Register to the *States-General*, who gave away all the Copies.

I do not know that Mr. DE RAPIN has written any thing besides what has been mentioned, except some Remarks on several Histories. . . . Though

Particulars of the Life of Mr. de Rapin.

Though he was of a very strong Constitution, yet Seventeen Years intense and constant Application to the composing his History, entirely destroyed his Health. About three Years before he died he found himself quite spent, and frequently seized with violent Pains in his Stomach. He might have recovered if he would have given over his Work, and unbent his Mind for a time: This he was convinced of, but could not prevail with himself to do as he ought. All the Indulgence he allowed himself was, not to rise before Six a-Clock, after which it was impossible for him to sleep or lie in his Bed. As to his Diversions, whereof walking was the chiefest, he was quickly tired with them; and if his Indisposition permitted him he returned to his Work, which was the Cause of his Illness, and properly the only Thing he delighted in. At last, a violent Fever, attended with an Oppression upon his Lungs, carried him off the Seventh Day being the 16th of May 1725.

He left one Son and Six Daughters.

From what has been said, it appears that Mr. de RAPIN was naturally grave and serious. This led him, whilst he was in the Service, to seek the Conversation of such as loved to reason, which drew on him the Ill-will of several of his Comrades, and of some of his Superiours too, who would have had him partake of all their Diversions. But on the other Hand, it gained him the Esteem and Friendship of many Persons of Merit, who filled very considerable Posts. We are not however to imagine that he was an Enemy to Mirth: he could be merry on occasion, though not so frequently nor to that Excess as many Men are. Nay he wrote several little Things in Prose and Verse, with a good deal of Humour and Gaiety: but as they were on comick or ludicrous Subjects, and designed only for a few Moments Diversion with his Friends, he never thought them worth revising, and I question whether there is so much as one to be found among his Papers. What has been said of his Application to Study, and to his Works, is so to be

understood, as that it never hindered him from laying every Thing aside, when an Opportunity offered to do any body a Kindness, or to interpose in the Quarrels of his Friends and Acquaintance, though it sometimes took up much of his Time.

Thus have I done all I could, to make known Mr. DE RAPIN's Character. I am very sensible that to know it thoroughly, we must, besides what I have said, consider him in his Writings; but this is what I shall not undertake. It is the Business of the Publick to declare what Opinion he there gives of himself, and to determine whether he shows any Signs of good Sense, whether he discovers any Judgement in his manner of finding out the Springs of the Actions he relates; and above all, whether he has been just enough to observe a perfect Impartiality so essential to a good History.

This last Point would soon be decided against Mr. DE RAPIN, if a Charge which has been thought fit to be laid against him, was received upon Trust. I intend not to be his Apologist; nevertheless, as this is the only Objection against him that is come to my Knowledge, I shall stay a Moment and just touch upon the Affair which Mr. DE RAPIN has given a full Account of. I know no more of the Charge than what I read in the *Journal des Savans*, for the Month of June 1726, published at Amsterdam, where I found what follows.

Mr. JEBB—— hath lately published a Collection of Papers for and against MARY Queen of SCOTS—— In the Preface he takes up the late Mr. de Rapin Thoyras for unfaithfully accusing of Forgery the Protestation of the Earls of Argyle and Huntley, who charged the Earl of Murray with having a Hand in the Conspiracy for the Murder of Henry King of Scotland Husband to Queen Mary Stuart; though this Protestation, says he, was given in to Queen Elizabeth's Commissioners at York, and owned by the Earl of Murray, and the rest of the Scotch Deputies.

To this I answer, first, that till Mr. *Jebb* has produced good Vouchers for what he asserts, which is not yet done, it will be maintained that this Declaration, far from being produced at *York*, was not so much as mentioned. This is sufficient to overthrow entirely what this Author pretends to. But to show more plainly how groundless his Assertion is, and that he may not have the least Pretext to say that there is a trivial Mistake in the Name, but that the Thing is true in the main, I am willing to go farther than he does. He says nothing of a second Conference held at *Hampton-Court* some time after that of *York*; and I affirm, that neither in this was there any Mention of the Protestation. It is true, *Camden*, speaking of this second Conference, says, *The Queen [of Scots] asserted that it could be proved that the Earl of Murray was the chief Contriver of the King's Death.* I might make several Remarks on this Passage, but I forbear, because they relate to the History, contenting my self with this single decisive Observation, That in all that passed at *Hampton-Court*, whatever we are to think of the Rest, there was no mention of the Protestation of the two Earls, which however is the only Thing Mr. *Jebb* would fain advance here as Matter of Fact. Let any Man judge after this, how a *Protestation*, which was so far from being given in that it was not so much as cited, can possibly have been owned by the Earl of *Murray* and the other *Scotch* Commissioners; and he will grant that Mr. *Jebb* has been telling us a Dream, which was so pleasing to the Dreamer, that when he awoke he heartily wished it true, though there is not any Proof or Footstep of it whatever. Thus it is that this Author has convicted Mr. DE RAPIN of *Unfaithfulness*. One would think such a Charge should be supported with undeniable Proofs: but Mr. *Jebb* did not take that for a Rule, but imagined he should be believed provided he spoke in a bold and gross Manner. It is not possible to say any thing of the other Mistakes he pretends to have met with in the new *History of England*,

1649.
A Recapitulation of
some im-
portant
Matters.

First, The Parliament actually sitting consisted properly only of a House of Commons, who refused to acknowledge the Negative Voice of the House of Peers. This they had manifestly showed in erecting a Court of Justice to judge the King without the Concurrence of the Lords, whose Consent was voted unnecessary.

Secondly, This House of Commons consisted of a small Number of Members, all *Independents*, *Anabaptists*, or other *Sectaries*. All the Presbyterian Members who sat in the House the 6th of *December* were expelled by the Army, and those who were absent, and of different Principles from the *Independents*, durst not resume their Places. If ever there was an usurped Government, it was that of this Parliament, mutilated, and founded only in Violence, and unsupported by any other Protection than that of the Army. For although the House of Commons pretended to represent the People of *England*, it is nevertheless very certain that the Nation afforded very few Persons, who were easy to see the Sovereign Power lodged in the Hands of such Representatives.

Thirdly, The *Independents*, of which this House was principally composed, were distinguished by two Principles, one relating to the *Civil*, the other to the *Ecclesiastical* Government. By the first they asserted, That the *Republican* Government was not only the most perfect; but farther, that it was absolutely necessary for *England*, harrassed with so many Oppressions from its Kings, who had changed the Government into a real Tyranny. With Regard to *Religion*, though they gave themselves the Appellation of Protestants, their Principle was That every Church was independent, and might take such a Form of Government as suited its Interest or Inclinations. Their Notions concerning the Vocation of the Ministers of the Gospel, were likewise very singular, as they believed that, without any other Call, every Man was at liberty to exercise the Functions

tions of the Ministry, and exert in it the Talents and Abilities which God had given him. The other Sectaries, who had joined the *Independents* because they found in that Party a full Toleration, were united with them in the first of these Principles, and declared for a *Republican* Government: But with regard to Religion there were some Differences, which the *Independents* the less regarded, as they were intent upon increasing the Number of their Adherents; and besides this, believed that in the Case of Religion a Toleration was absolutely necessary.

Fourthly, There was still in the Army a Remnant of *Levellers*, who still adhered to their Principle, and were always ready for any Attempt which might recover their Credit and Authority. It is true that *Cromwell*, after having himself raised this Faction, had in some measure dispersed it; but it was not entirely destroyed. An able Leader would still have made it as formidable, and given as much Uneasiness as in any time before.

Fifthly, It was not without the last Vexation that the *Presbyterians* saw the *Independents* in Possession of Sovereign Power. By this all their Measures were broken: The Progress of eight Year's Success came to nothing, and the Storm which they had raised against the King was poured upon their own Heads, or at least it was apparent, that they had all this while been labouring for others without any Thing done for themselves. For indeed the *Independents* were equally Enemies to *Presbyterian* and *Episcopal* Government. As to *Civil* Government, it is certain that the *Presbyterians* were not averse to Kingly Authority in general. If they had attempted to retrench its Power, this was not from a Belief that the Thing was Evil in itself as it was established by the Laws of *England*, but because the two last Kings had made use of their Power to destroy *Presbyterianism*. So that whatever they had done against King *Charles I.*, was not pointed so much against his Authority

1649. thority as his Person, because he was looked upon as their Enemy, and they had no Hopes of ever being in a Capacity to establish a *Presbyterian* Government in the Church, while he should have any Power to prevent it. It is nevertheless very likely, that Numbers of them would have complied with a *Republican* Government, in spite of the Tenour of the *Covenant*, had that Government not been lodged in the Hands of *Independents*, who were by no Means inclined to support *Presbyterianism*, and had Principles of Toleration which were entirely rejected by the *Presbyterians*. On this Account an Union between the *Presbyterians* and *Independents* was morally impossible.

Sixthly, The *Royalists*, equally Enemies of both, could unite with neither of the Parties, considering the Opposition there was between their Principles. The *Independents* were for a Common wealth, with which the *Royalists* could not comply. On the other side, the *Presbyterians* were for maintaining their Government in the Church; and the greatest Part of the *Royalists*, as they had no Bishops, could hardly believe that the *Presbyterians* were any Part of the true Christian Church. Thus the *Royalists*, though persecuted by both Parties, yet were far from joining themselves to either. On the contrary they conceived some Hopes, that the Division amongst their Enemies would, one Day, give them a good Opportunity to restore the Monarchy upon its old Foundation. In this Expectation they fomented the Difference with all their Power, and hoped that the *Presbyterians* would at last be obliged to abandon their Projects, and come over to the Royal Party, to free themselves from the Persecution which they then laboured under.

Such were the Views and Interests of the Parties which divided the People of *England* immediately after the Death of *Charles I.* It is absolutely necessary for the Reader to carry this in his Mind,

to give him the clearer Comprehension of what passed 1649.
in this *Interregnum*.

Upon the Death of the King, the House of Com-
mons immediately published an Act forbidding the
proclaiming of *Charles Stuart* eldest Son of the late
King, or any other Person whatever, under the Pain
of High-Treason. Here was laid, as it were, the
Foundation of the Common-wealth, which the Inde-
pendents were aiming to erect in England. The same
Day the House of Lords demanded of the Com-
mons a Conference, about Settling the Government,
and the Administration of Justice, the Judges Com-
missions being determined with the Death of the
King. The Commons, without any Notice taken of
the Message, voted the House of Lords to be Use-
less and Dangerous, and therefore to be abolished.
A Privilege was only left to the Lords to be elect-
ed Members of Parliament in common with other
Subjects. This Privilege was embraced by a few *,
but the greater Part rejected it; nay, some there
were that published a Protest against the Power
which the House of Commons assumed, to which
that House paid little Regard. Thus this Parliament,
which in its Beginning was composed of a King, of
an Upper-House of about Six-score Lords, and a
Lower of five Hundred and Thirteen Representa-
tives, saw it self reduced to a House of Commons
consisting of about Eighty Members, very few of which
at the Beginning of it had five Hundred Pounds
yearly Income. Nevertheless these Members, so few
in Number, assumed the Name of a Parliament,
and acted as if in their Body had been united the
Power, which had formerly resided in the King,
Lords, and Commons. This might appear surpris-
ing,

An Act
forbid pro-
claiming
the Son of
the King.
Baker,
Clarend.
etc.

The House
of Lords a-
bolished by
the Com-
mons.
Clarend.
Baker.
p. 588.
Some Lords
Protest,
Baker, ib.
Clarend.
V. p. 262.

Clarend.

* The Earls of *Pembroke* and *Salisbury*, and the Lord *Edward Howard* signed the Engagement to be true and faithful to the Com-
mon-wealth, as it was established without a King or House of Lords,
and took their Seats in Parliament by Virtue of an Election from
the People. *Ludlow's Memoirs*, Vol. 1. p. 293

1649. sing, if we had not seen the foregoing Transactions and the Terrour which the Army had every where inspired. The Care and Address of *Cromwell* and his Associates in the new Model of the Army, and the Filling it with their own Creatures are thereby very visible. Certainly nothing below an Army entirely *Independent* and *Republican* could have procured Power so excessive and extraordinary to a Parliament so inconsiderable for its Number. But it is likewise to be acknowledged, that, of these New Governours, some were Men of a great Genius and uncommon Capacity, and that if they erred in their Principles, they never failed of Skill to pursue the Consequences. Their main Principle was, that the Sovereign Authority resided originally in the People who had intrusted the King with one Part or Share of it, whom they had chosen to govern them according to the Laws. That the King's having abused this Trust, had broken the primitive Contract between the King and the People; and in Consequence of this Violation, the Contract subsisting no longer, the Sovereign Power returned back to the People as the Proprietors of it. So considering themselves as the Representatives of the People, they believed, they had a right to change the Form of the Government, without any Notice taken of the primitive Contract which the King had annulled in his Violation thereof.

*Principles
of the Com-
mons re-
lating to
Govern-
ment.*

*They abo-
lish the
Monarchy.*
Baker.
Clarend.

*Divers
Alterati-
ons.*
Baker,
p. 588.

In Consequence of this Principle it was that the House of *Commons* assuming the Name of Parliament, voted, and afterwards enacted, that Monarchy should be abolished as unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous, and that the State should be governed by the Representatives of the People in a House of *Commons* without King or Lords, and under the Form of a Common-wealth. This material Alteration in the Government produced many others in Things which had suited Monarchy, but were by no Means agreeable to a Common-wealth. The

Oaths

Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* were to be abolished *, Justice was no longer to be administred in the Name of the King *¹, a new *Great-Seal* was to be made, new Money to be coined *²; in a Word, every Thing to be removed which bore any Characters or Marks of Royalty. A Great-Seal was therefore made, on one Side of which was seen the Parliament sitting, with this Inscription, *The Great-Seal of the Parliament of the Common-wealth of England*; on the other Side a *Cross* and a *Harp*, which are the Arms of *England* and *Ireland*, with these Words, *The first Year of Liberty restored by the Blessing of God* *³. This Seal was committed to a certain Number of Persons, who were stiled *Keepers of the Liberties of England*. And it was ordained that for the future, all publick Orders should be dispatched in the Name of these Keepers, under the Direction of the Parliament *⁴. Lastly, the Parliament made choice of Thirty-nine Persons to form a *Council of State*, for the Administration of publick Affairs under the Parliament. The Projects of these Changes were formed in the Month of *February*, but could not be fully executed till some Months afterwards.

A New Great-Seal made.
Ludlow.
Clarend.
V. p. 262.

Council of State.

In

* Instead thereof a New Oath was prepared called the *Engagement*, whereby every Man swore. *That he would be True and Faithful to the Government established without King or House of Peers.* Clarend. V. p. 260.

*¹ The Name, Style, and Title of the Writs were to be, *Custodes Libertatis Anglia, Authoritate Parliamenti.*

*² The Money, instead of the King's Impression, bore the *Cross* and *Harp*, with this Motto, *God with us.*

*³ The Lord *Clarendon* and *Baker* say, on one Side was engraven the Arms of *England* and *Ireland*, viz. a *Red Cross* and *Harp*, with this Inscription, *The Great Seal of England*; and on the other, the Portraiture of the House of Commons circumscribed, *In the First Year of Freedom by God's Blessing restored, 1648.*

*⁴ *Widdrington* and *Whitlock* were first appointed Keepers of the New Great Seal; but *Widdrington* desired to be excused, and his Excuse being admitted, an Act passed appointing *Bulstrode Whitlock*, *Richard Keeble*, and *John Lisle*, Lords Commissioners of the Great-Seal, *quam diu se bene gesserint.* Whitlock, p. 374.

1649.
A new
High-
Court of
Justice.
Bates.
Baker.
Clarend.
V. p. 265.

In the Beginning of *March* the Parliament erected a new High-Court of Justice to try some Persons of Figure who were in their Hands ; there being, it seems, no longer any House of Lords. The Peers of the Kingdom had lost their Priviledges under this new *Democracy*, and consequently the imprisoned Lords might have been tryed by a Jury of Twelve in one of the Courts of Justice ; but the Parliament without doubt was apprehensive, that a Jury impannelled as usual, would never find Persons of so high Quality guilty of Death, for no other Crime but that of having supported the Cause of their Sovereign. The *Independent* Faction was too inconsiderable to assure themselves of a Jury taken out of their own Body. Besides, the Judges were not to be depended on, when it was considered that Six of them had refused to accept their Commissions from the new Common-wealth. But in erecting a Court of Justice, the Common-wealth could name such Judges as would be obedient to its Orders.

Some noble
Prisoners
brought
before it.

Before this new Court (with *Bradshaw* at the Head of it, as he was of that which condemned the King,) were brought the Duke of *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holland*, the Lord *Goring* lately created Earl of *Norwich*, the Lord *Capel*, and Sir *John Owen*, all for the same Crime ; namely, for having appeared in Arms against the Parliament. When the King had Thoughts in the Beginning of the Civil Wars to put to Death the Prisoners taken at *Edge-bill* and *Colebrook*, the Parliament not allowing the Justice of putting Prisoners of War to Death, for a Crime of the same Nature, declared that they would inflict the same Punishment on their Prisoners, if the Condemned were proceeded against according to their Sentence. But when the Fortune of Arms had decided the Cause in their Favour, it was then found to be exactly agreeable to Justice, to punish with Death those who had fought for the King. This will seem the less strange, when it is remembered that

that the King himself had been adjudged and put to Death, for making War upon the Parliament. 1649.

The Duke of *Hamilton* represented, That being Duke of *Hamilton's Defence.* born a Subject of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, he had entred *England* in a hostile Manner, as an open and declared Enemy, by Virtue of a Commission from the Parliament of *Scotland*, which it was his Duty to obey; and by Consequence, he could be no otherwise treated than as a Prisoner of War. As this Objection had been foreseen, it was immediately replied, that he was not proceeded against as Duke *Hamilton* of *Scotland*, but as Earl of *Cambridge* in *England*; that as he had accepted this Title, and in Consequence of it taken a Seat in Parliament, he was thereby become a Subject of *England*: That if the Title of Duke of *Hamilton* obliged him to obey the Parliament of *Scotland*, that of Earl of *Cambridge* ought to have engaged him to refuse the *Scotch* Commission. Besides, they were well informed that his accepting the Command of the *Scotch* Army, was not owing to meer Obedience, but to his own Sollicitation, and that he had been the principal Author of the War. V. p. 265.

The Earl of *Holland* spoke but little in his own Defence. Besides, the Steps which he had taken, and his frequent changing Sides, left small Hopes to his Cause. Earl of *Holland*.

The Lord *Goring* (*Earl of Norwich**) represented, That he had been educated in the Court from his tenderest Years, having been a Page to King *James I.* That he had never served any other Master than the King, whom he had followed, without examining whether his Cause was Just or otherwise, not having had any Opportunity to be informed in such Points, which besides were above his Capacity. Earl of *Norwich*.

The Lord *Capel* immoveable in his Principles, and zealously attached to the Cause of his Sovereign, pel.

* The Earl of *Norwich* was Father to the Lord *Goring*, who commanded the King's Army.

1649. defended himself with more Courage and Resolution. He refused at first to own the Authority of the Court, alledging, That if he had committed any Crime, his Process ought to have been in the accustomed Form, and not before a Court unsupported by any Law. But the Condemnation of the King himself by a Court of no great Authority, might have convinced him, that such a Defence could do him no Service. He said at last, that having surrendered himself a Prisoner at Discretion, he could not by the Law of Nations be put to Death but within such a Number of Days, which were long since expired. He urged, that when upon the taking of *Colchester*, the Council of War had condemned *Lucas* and *Lisle* to be shot, General *Fairfax* had promised Life to the other Prisoners, and therefore he demanded the Benefit of that Promise. The Court being somewhat at a Loss, sent to the General to know what Promise he had made to the Lord *Capel*: His Answer was, That as General he had promised the Prisoners an Exemption from Military Execution, to which Three had been condemned, and that his Intention reached no farther. Upon this Answer it was decided, that the General's Promise did not exempt the Prisoner from the Justice of the Parliament.

Sir John Owen.

Sir John Owen said only, that he was obliged in Conscience to serve the King in Virtue of the Oath of Allegiance.

They are condemned. Petitions in their Favour. Clarend.

Notwithstanding their Defence, they all received Sentence of Death. But as they had many Friends, Petitions were offered to the Parliament in their Behalf for a Pardon. These Petitions were examined in the House, and those of the Duke of *Hamilton*, Earl of *Holland*, and Lord *Capel* rejected. The Votes were divided upon that of the Earl of *A* *which*, and as, according to Custom, the Speak *Vote* was to decide the Matter, he declared Pardon, saying, That he had once received from Earl a signal Favour, and therefore his Vote w

for Mercy. The Execution of Sir *John Owen* was 1649.
suspended, because as a Commoner he ought to have
been tryed before an inferiour Court. This saved
his Life. The Three first were executed on a Scaf-
fold erected before *Westminster-Hall*.

The Duke complained when he was brought to
the Scaffold, that he was condemned to dye for o-
beying the Parliament of *Scotland*; which if he had
not done, he must have been put to Death there. *The Duke
of Hamilton executed.*
But it was with little Foundation that he insinuated. *Clarend.
Baker.*
a Danger of dying in *Scotland*, for a Refusal to accept
the Command of an Army which had been raised
by his Intrigues, and Authority. He signified that,
if his Life might be saved, he would make a Disco-
very of the Persons who had engaged him in the King's
Service. Before his Process was formed, he had *Baker.*
been strongly solicited to make this Discovery,
which probably would have preserved his Life at
the Peril of many others; but his Offer came now
too late. The Character of this Duke is not easy to
be conceived: All that can be inferred from what
has been said for or against him, is, that he had the
Art to suit himself to the Times. And the Earl of
Clarendon plainly insinuates, That at the very Time
when he was employed by the King, he was secretly
making Friends to the contrary Party, in Case Af-
fairs should turn to the King's Disadvantage.

The Lord *Capel* maintained, That he had acted *Lord Ca-
pel excus-
ed.*
nothing contrary to the Laws, and consequently *Clarend.
Baker.*
was unjustly sentenced to die. He spoke of King
Charles I, as if he had been a Saint; and enlarged
upon the great Genius, the good Disposition, the ex-
emplary Piety of the Prince, to whom he gave the
Title of King, who, he assured, would never de-
part from his Religion; in all Appearance that Lord
boke his Sentiments. But the Sequel discovered
that he either did not sufficiently know *Charles* the
1d, or that that Prince had other Principles when
he was established upon the Throne, than he had
retained in his younger Years.

1649.
Other Executions. At or about the same Time, many others were executed for the same Crime in different Parts of the Kingdom. Amongst the Rest were *Morrice* and *Blackbourn* who had surprized the Castle of *Pomfret* for the King. *Poyer*, *Powell*, and *Langborn*, who had drawn into a Revolt from the Parliament the Principality of *Wales*, cast Lots for their Lives, and the first was executed.

The absent Members excluded the Parliament.
Ludlow I. p. 302.
Baker. When the Army drove from the House the Members to the Number of a Hundred or more, who were unacceptable to them, those only were expressly excluded which were then sitting: But a great Number were absent, against whom nothing had been determined. Indeed these last had never since that Time attempted to recover their Seats in the House, being apprehensive of the same Fate. But it was not impossible but they might return in a great Body, when ever a favourable Opportunity offered. This the House resolved to prevent, by an Act which excluded for ever all those who had never sat since the Death of the King, unless they gave the House an entire Satisfaction. At the same Time a Committee was appointed to examine those who should offer themselves. This Committee received without Scruple those who were of *Independent Principles*, and found Reasons to exclude their Enemies. This indeed was a good Expedient to prevent Divisions in the Parliament, because none were suffered to sit there who were of opposite Principles. But this Precaution was attended with an Inconvenience which called for other Measures; that Inconvenience was the Ridicule to which the Parliament saw themselves exposed, in pretending to represent the Common-wealth with such a handful of Members. It is true, the vacant Places might have been filled by new Elections, but the Parliament did not care to run this Risque, well knowing that their Interest was yet too inconsiderable, to hope for New Members of their own Party and Principles. The House therefore resolved, in order to increase their Authority

city by a greater Number of Members, to admit all such who had sate in the present Parliament, to resume their Places, on Condition of signing the following Instrument, called the *Engagement*, by which they rejected "all Concessions made by the King in the Treaty of *Newport*, approved of all the "Proceedings against him, and engaged themselves "to be true and faithful to the Common-wealth as "established without King or House of Lords". By this Engagement were excluded all the *Royalists*, and the *Presbyterians*, who were the most rigid Observers of the *Covenant*. This however did not prevent, but that a Number of the latter signed, and took their Seats in the House, being either less scrupulous than their Brethren, or in hopes to recover some Influence in the Parliament. Notwithstanding those who were known to be most incensed against the *Independents* were excluded by the Committee. *Edmond Ludlow*, a Member of this Committee, frankly owns in his Memoirs, that an Expedient was found to admit only those from whom they believed they had nothing to fear.

1649.
They are re-admitted on Condition of signing an Engagement.
Ludlow I. p. 306.

Which is signed by many Presbyterians.
Clarend.

Ludlow I. p. 306.

The *Prince of Wales* received at the *Hague* the melancholy News of the tragical Death of his Father, and immediately assumed the Title of King, being then Eighteen Years of Age. Two or three Days after the *States-General*, the *States of Holland*, and the Ministers of the *Hague* *, paid him their Compliments of Condolence. He qualified all those who were about his Person, and had been of Council to the King his Father, to be his *Privy-Counsellors*, by the

The Prince of Wales takes the Title of King.
February.
Clarend.
p. 275.
Establishes a Council.

* The Body of the Clergy, in a Latin Oration delivered by the chief Preacher of the *Hague*, lamented the Misfortune in Terms of so much Asperity and Detestation of the Actors, as unworthy the Name of Christians, as could be expressed. *Clarend.* Vol. III Part the 1st, 8vo Edit. p. 276.

or which Reason perhaps the *States* inhibited their Ministers from insisting upon Matters of State in their Pulpits, and particularly not to meddle with *England's* or other Kingdom's Proceedings. *Whitlock*, p. 381.

1649. accustomed Oath rendered to them, and with the addition of only one Person*. He had no sooner established his *Council*, than he received a Letter from the Queen his Mother, which, after Expressions of her extreme Affliction, called him to her into *France*, with Advice to form no *Council* till she had spoke with him; but the Advice came too late. In all likelihood the Queen aimed at governing the King her Son, as she had before done the King her Husband, though the Power of the new King was next to nothing. His Condition was deplorable, as he was without all Ability to maintain his Household, had no Table but that of the *Prince of Orange* his Brother-in-Law, and subsisted meerly by his Bounty. This could not be of long continuance. The *States of Holland* in foresight that the Parliament would shortly solicit the King's Removal out of their Dominions, would have been very glad to be discharged from the Necessity of desiring him to be gone by his voluntary Retreat. Some of the *States* Deputies were even of Opinion, that the Demand of the Parliament ought to be prevented. The King was informed of this Disposition, and wanted to be gone, but the Difficulty was whither. He had been ill received in *France* during the Life of his Father, and he had no room to expect now a better Reception. He knew too well the *Queen Regent* and *Cardinal Mazarine*, to flatter himself that his Friendship would be more available with them than that of the new *Common-wealth* of *England*. Therefore, though he should resolve to withdraw into *France*, it could be but for a very short Space of Time. On the other hand, he had no great Inclination to be with the Queen his Mother, knowing that she would hold him in a sort of Servitude which he could neither comply with, nor avoid, without a Rupture with her. *Ireland* only seemed to promise him an honorable

Is called by
the Queen
into
France.

Is coldly
treated in
Holland.

Knows not
whither to
go.

He resolves
upon Ire-
land.

* Mr. Long his Secretary.

able Retreat from the Situation of his Affairs there, 1649.
of which it is necessary to know the Sequel.

In the Year 1646, the *Marquess of Ormond* by express Orders from the King had concluded a Peace with the *Irish Rebels*, in hopes of drawing from that Kingdom Forces sufficiently strong to drive from thence the *English* Parliamentarians and the *Scots*. But, advantageous as this Peace was to the Catholick Religion, the *Pope's Nuncio* did not think fit to give his Consent. The Pretence was, that the Catholicks found in it neither sufficient Advantages, nor Security. But the true Reason was, that by this Peace he would have lost all Credit, as the *Marquess* was to be acknowledged Governour by the *Irish* themselves. He caballed therefore with such Success amongst the People, that, in Effect, they not only deserted the *Marquess*, but obliged him to withdraw to *Dublin*; by their Insults upon him, where he was unprovided of every Thing to defend that Capital, which they were preparing to besiege. In this Extremity he chose rather to deliver up *Dublin* and *Drogheda* to the Parliament, which he knew he was in no Capacity to defend, than to see them fall into the Hands of the Rebels. He capitulated therefore with the Parliament, and surrendered these two Places to Colonel *Jones*, who took Possession the 17th of June 1647. After this the *Marquess* withdrew into *England*, where he had frequent Leave to visit the King, then a Prisoner of the Army, till in the Conclusion, he saw himself obliged to go over into *France*.

*The Con-
dition of
Ireland.
Clarend.
Baker.
p. 592.
Bates II.
p. 144.*

After the *Marquess* had quitted *Ireland*, the *Nuncio* exercised a Tyranny, which grew intolerable to the *Irish*. They therefore sent to the Queen and Prince then at *Paris*, that they were disposed to shake off the Yoke laid upon them by the *Nuncio*; and if the *Marquess of Ormond* were dispatched to them with a Supply of Arms and Ammunition, they would put him at the Head of an Army capable to drive all the King's Enemies out of the Island. The *Nuncio* had

1649. Notice of this Plot, and excommunicated all those who had any Hand in it: But for once he was too weak to put his Designs in execution. His Partisans deserted him, and he was even forced to receive as a Favour the Liberty to withdraw.

The *Marquess of Ormond* long attended at *Paris*, expecting the Performance of a Promise made him by the *Cardinal* of a Supply of Money, Arms, and Ammunition. But finding at last that he was only amused with Promises never like to be fulfilled, he departed without any Assistance, and arrived in *Ireland* about the Beginning of *October* 1648. Three Months after he concluded a New Treaty with the Grand Council of the *Irish* assembled at *Kilkenny* *. At the same Time the Process was forming in *England* against the King. This Peace was by no

Bates II. Means general. *Owen Roe O Neale* who commanded
p. 148. in *Ulster* rejected it, because, as he pretended, it was not advantageous enough to the *Catholick Religion*. A great deal of Time was spent to gain him, but to no Purpose: At last the *Marquess of Ormond*, not to lose the Opportunity of making Progress in *Ireland*, while the Parliament was busie in erecting their New Commonwealth, resolved to take no farther Notice of *O Neale*, but to act singly with the Army which the Council of *Kilkenny* had in their disposal. He put himself therefore at the Head of it, and advancing towards *Dublin*, took
Ibid. 162. *Dundalk*, *Newry*, *Trim*, *Drogheda*, and some other Towns and Castles, which facilitated his intended Siege of *Dublin*. On the other side, *Prince Rupert*, who was Admiral for the King, being pursued by the Parliament's Fleet, put into the Harbour of *Kingsale*, where he was secure, and in a Condition to favour the *Marquess of Ormond's* Design. This favourable Disposition of Affairs made the King judge that *Ireland* was a convenient Retreat, where at th
Hea

* This Treaty is to be met with in *Bates's Elenchus Motuum* p. 145. and was very advantageous to the *Roman Catholics*.

Head of an Army, he might make himself Master of *Dublin*, and afterwards of the whole Island. After which he hoped that with his *Irish* Succours, and his Friends in *England*, he might recover his Throne. But News from *Scotland* made him lay aside the Thought of the *Irish Expedition* for the present : And to *Scotland* we are to follow him.

1649.

After *Cromwell's* Expedition into that Kingdom, *Affairs of Scotland* upon the Defeat of the Duke of *Hamilton*, Affairs there had taken a new Turn. The *Marquess* of *Argyle*, and all the rigid *Covenanters* who opposed the War against *England*, had regained the Advantages which they had lost. The new Parliament had declared incapable of all sorts of Employments, those who had a Hand in the *Engagement* formed by Duke *Hamilton*, and the *Kirk* had excommunicated them : So that they were looked upon as Enemies of God and the State. In this Number were the Earl of *Lanerick*, Brother of the Duke of *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Lautberdale*, and many others, who formed the Faction, which I shall call *Hamiltonian*, and which was then entirely crushed. By this Revolution *Scotland* remained constantly united with *England*, so long as the *English* Parliament continued *Presbyterian* ; that is to say, to the 6th of *December*, 1648.

The Revolution in *England*, upon driving the *Presbyterian* Members from Parliament to fill it with *Independents*, changed the Interests of *Scotland*. The *Independents* mortally hated the *Scots* on account of their Attachment to the *Covenant*, and these again looked upon the *Independents* as Enemies, which were equally formidable to them with the *Royalists*. This might have sunk the Credit of *Argyle*, which partly subsisted upon the Friendship he had contracted with *Cromwell* and *Vane*, the Chiefs of the *Independents*. But the *Scots* had a Confidence in him, because in Religion he was an *approved Presbyterian*, though in Politicks he leaned much to the *Republican* Scheme. When the Parliament of *England* had erected a Court of Justice for the Tryal of the King,

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King. the *Scots* found themselves very much embarrassed. To suffer the *Independents* to remain Masters of *England* after the Death of the King, which it was visible they had in View, must be attended with great Inconveniencies to their Affairs. They fully perceived that a Parliament so composed would pay but little regard to *Scotland*, and infallibly ruin the *Covenant* between the two Kingdoms, which, it was nevertheless of the last Importance for the *Scots* to maintain, because they flattered themselves that the *Presbyterians* might one Day recover the Ground they had lost. But on the other Hand, they could not take up Arms for the King without manifest Danger. Since their late Loss they had never been in Condition to bring an Army into the Field strong enough to fight the *Independents*; and if they had, it would have signified nothing to the saving the King's Life. They therefore could think of no other present Expedient, but that of declaring to the *English* and all *Europe*, that the Proceedings of the Parliament of *England* were highly disagreeable to them; and this was all they could do on this Occasion.

Clarend.
p. 281.
Baker,
p. 580.
Clarend.
Vol. V.
p. 280.
Baker,
p. 589.
The Scots
Protestation
on.

Pursuant to this Resolution, Commissioners were forthwith sent to *London*, where they arrived the Beginning of *January* 1648-9, and presented a Memorial to the Parliament, setting forth the Reasons which ought to divert them from their Purpose of trying the King. But this Memorial produced no Effect. At last, after the King had been twice brought before the High-Court of Justice, they gave in their Protestation, in which they put them in Mind, "That
" they had, near three Weeks before, represented
" to them what Endeavours had been used to take
" away the King's Life, and for the Change of the
" Fundamental Government of the Kingdom, a
" introducing a sinful and ungodly Toleration
" Matters of Religion; and that therein they had
" expressed their Thoughts, and Fears of the dangerous
" Consequences that might follow there
" on; and that they had also earnestly press

“ that there might be no farther Proceedings against
“ his Majesty’s Person, which would certainly con-
“ tinue the great Distractions of the Kingdom, and
“ involve them in many Evils, Troubles, and Con-
“ fusions ; but that, by the free Counsels of
“ both Houses of Parliament of *England*, and with
“ the Advice and Consent of the Parliament of
“ *Scotland*, such Course might be taken in relation
“ to the King, as might be for the Good and Happi-
“ ness of both Kingdoms ; both having an un-
“ questionable, and undeniable Right in his Person,
“ as King of both ; which duly considered, they
“ had Reason to hope, that it would have given a
“ Stop to all farther Proceedings against his Maje-
“ sty’s Person. But now understanding that after
“ the Imprisonment and Exclusion of divers Mem-
“ bers of the House of Commons, and without,
“ and against the Consent of the House of Peers,
“ by a single Act of their own, and Theirs alone,
“ Power was given to certain Persons of their own
“ Members of the Army, and some others, to pro-
“ ceed against his Majesty’s Person, in order where-
“ unto he had been brought before that extraordi-
“ nary new Court ; they did therefore, in the Name
“ of the Parliament of *Scotland*, for their Vindica-
“ tion from false Aspersions and Calumnies, de-
“ clare, that though they were not satisfied with
“ his Majesty’s late Concessions in the Treaty at
“ *Newport* in the Isle of *Wight*, especially in the
“ Matters of Religion, and were resolved not to
“ crave his Restoration to his Government, before
“ Satisfaction should be given by him to that King-
“ dom ; yet they did all unanimously with one
“ Voice, not one Member excepted, disclaim the
“ least Knowledge of, or Occasion to the late Pro-
“ ceedings of the Army here against the King ;
“ and did sincerely profess that it would be a great
“ Grief unto their Hearts, and lie heavy upon their
“ Spirits, if they should see the Trusting his Maje-
“ sty’s Person to the two Houses of the Parliament of
“ *Eng-*

1649. “ *England* to be made use of to his Ruin, contrary
 “ to the declared Intentions of the Kingdom of
 “ *Scotland*, and solemn Professions of the Kingdom
 “ of *England*: And to the end that it might be ma-
 “ nifested to the World, how much they did abomi-
 “ nate and detest so horrid a Design against his Ma-
 “ jesty’s Person, they did, in the Name of the
 “ Parliament and Kingdom of *Scotland*, declare their
 “ Dissent from the said Proceedings, and the Taking
 “ away of his Majesty’s Life ; protesting, that as
 “ they were altogether free from the same, so they
 “ might be free from all the Miseries, evil Conse-
 “ quences, and Calamities, that might follow there-
 “ upon to the distracted Kingdoms.”

*The Parli-
 ament’s
 Answer.
 Clarend.
 V. p. 282.*

The Parliament answered to this Protestation, but not till after the King’s Death, “ That they had
 “ heretofore told them, what Power this Nation
 “ had in the Fundamentals of Government : That
 “ if *Scotland* had not the same Power and Liberty,
 “ as they went not about to confine them, so they
 “ would not be limited by them ; but leaving them to
 “ act in Their’s as they should see Cause, they re-
 “ solved to maintain their own Liberties as God should
 “ enable them. And as they were very far from im-
 “ posing upon them, so they should not willingly suf-
 “ fer Impositions from them, whilst God gave them
 “ Strength or Lives to oppose them.” They said,
 “ the Answer they made to their first and second
 “ Letter was, that after a long and serious Delibera-
 “ tion of their own intrinsical Power, and Trust
 “ (derived to them by the Providence of God,
 “ through the delegation of the People) and upon
 “ the like Considerations of what themselves and
 “ the whole Nation had suffered from the Misgo-
 “ vernment and Tyranny of that King, both in
 “ Peace, and by the Wars ; and considering, how
 “ fruitless, and full of Danger and Prejudice the
 “ many Addresses to him for Peace had been; and
 “ being conscious how much they had provoked
 “ and tempted God, by the Neglect of the im-
 “ partial

1649.

"partial Execution of Justice, in relation to the
 "innocent Blood spilt and Mischief done in the late
 "Wars, they had proceeded in such a Course of
 "Justice against that Man of Blood, as they doubt-
 "ed not the just God (who is no Respector of Per-
 "sons) did approve, and would countenance with
 "his Blessings upon the Nation; and though per-
 "haps they might meet with many Difficulties be-
 "fore their Liberties and Peace were settled, yet
 "they hoped they should be preserved from Con-
 "fusion, by the good Will of him who dwelt in
 "the Bush which burned and was not consumed;
 "and that the Course they had taken with the
 "late King, and meant to follow towards others
 "the Capital Enemies of their Peace, was, they
 "hoped, that which would be for the Good and
 "Happiness of both Nations; of which if that of
 "*Scotland* would think to make use, and vindicate
 "their own Liberty and Freedom (which lay be-
 "fore them if they gave them not away) they
 "would be ready to give them all neighbourly
 "and friendly Assistance in the establishing there-
 "of; and desired them to take it into their most
 "serious Consideration, before they espoused that
 "Quarrel, which could bring them no other Ad-
 "vantage than the entailing upon them, and their
 "Posterities, a lasting War, with all the Miseries
 "which attended it, and Slavery under a Tyrant
 "and his Issue."

Shortly after the *Scotch* Commissioners were re-
 called. But just at their departure, an Answer was
 in their Name presented to the Parliament, which
 charged the sitting Members with Infidelity, with
 the Breach of Promises and Oaths, and other Things
 of a very offensive Nature. This was so ill re-
 ceived by the Parliament, that they ordered them
 to be arrested upon the Road, and put under Guard
 till it could be known whether they were abetted by
 their *Principals*. But the *Scotch* Parliament avowing
 it not, and complaining of the Right of Nations
 violated

*Reply of
 the Scotch
 Deputies.
 Baker, p.
 589.*

1649.

violated in their Persons, they were immediately discharged.

*Difficult-
ties under
which the
Scots lay*

In so nice a Conjunction, the *Scots* had the Choice but of two Things to prevent their falling into a dangerous Anarchy. They were either with the *English* to change their Government into a *Commonwealth*, or else acknowledge the eldest Son of the late King for their *Sovereign*. But either of these Ways had its Difficulties. A *Republican Government* was directly contrary to *That* under which they and their Fore-Fathers had lived for many Ages, repugnant to the Two *Covenants*, and the Inclination of the People. Besides, it was not seen what Advantage could accrue to the Nation from such a Change. The Second Way was likewise very embarrassing, considering what had been the Circumstances of *Scotland* for some Years backward. Had *James I.*, and *Charles I.*, not invaded the Privileges of *Scotland*, by introducing the Religion of *England* contrary to the Inclinations of the People: Had the Differences between *Charles I.*, and his *Scotch* Subjects been unattended with any War: Had not the Treaty which terminated that War, and restored to the *Scots* their antient Religion, been extorted from the King: Had not the invincible Distrust of the *Scots*, with Regard to *Charles I.*, brought them into Arms to lessen his Power in *England*, and put him out of a Capacity to revoke his Concessions to them: Had not the *Scots* sworn to Two *Covenants*, one National, the other Common to both Nations, to maintain Presbyterianism: Had these Things, I say never happened, the *Scots* might, nay, ought to have acknowledged for their *Sovereign* the next Heir of the Crown, agreeably to their immemorial Custom. But in the Recognition of this new King the Maintainance of their Laws, their Privilege their Religion, were concerned. Here lay the Difficulty; for the Accession of a new King to the Crown, was no Reason to oblige them to give up Cause which had cost them a Ten Years War.

The

They knew that Prince *Charles*, eldest Son of the late King, had the same Principles as his Father both with relation to Religion, and the Civil Government; that he had never entertained, or did now entertain any Persons about him, who were not mortal Enemies to their Nation and Religion as established: Wherefore, in receiving him for their King without any previous Condition, they were not secure against a Relapse into the same Circumstances, which they had seen themselves under in the Reign of *Charles I.* who by Artifices, and, as they thought, even by Fraud, and at last by open Violence, attempted to bring the Kirk of *Scotland* to an exact Conformity with the Church of *England*. As therefore, agreeably to the Laws and Customs of *Scotland*, it was natural for them to accept for their Sovereign him on whom the Crown ought to devolve, it was no less so in the present Conjuncture to use all necessary Precautions to preserve what they had with so much Difficulty recovered. Was it just or reasonable for them to deliver themselves up to the Discretion of a young Prince yet a Stranger to them, and put their Repose and Happiness into the Power of his single Will, notwithstanding their Suspicions that he had no more Affection for them than his Father? Nevertheless, as his Affairs were almost desperate, they persuaded themselves that the Offer of their Crown would engage him to become a good *Scot's* Man, and to dismiss his *English* Counsellors, who were not proper for *Scotland*; in a Word, that he would think himself very happy in the Recovery of one of his Kingdoms, and in the Possession of the same Dignity his Ancestors held, before his Grand-Father ascended the Throne of *England*. They resolved therefore to acknowledge and proclaim him, but with Restrictions which left them at liberty to capitulate with him. The Proclamation was thus ended.

1649.
The Pro-
clamation
of Charles
II in Scot-
land.
Baker, p.
589.

*The Estates of Parliament presently * convened in the Second Sessions of this Second Triennial Parliament, by the Virtue of an Act of the Committee of Estates, who have taken away all Power and Authority from the last Parliament for convening the Parliament; considering that forasmuch as the King's Majesty, who lately reigned, is, contrary to the Dissent and Protestation of this Kingdom removed by a violent Death; and that by the Lord's Blessing there is left unto us a righteous Heir and lawful Successor, Charles Prince of Scotland and Wales, now King of Great-Britain, France and Ireland; We the Estates of the Parliament of the Kingdom of Scotland, do therefore most unanimously and cheerfully, in Recognition and Acknowledgement of his Just Right, Title, and Succession to the Crown of these Kingdoms, Hereby proclaim and declare to all the World, That the said Lord as Prince Charles is, by the Providence of God and the lawful Right of undoubted Succession, King of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland, whom all the Subjects of the Kingdom are bound humbly, and faithfully to obey, maintain, and defend according to the National Covenant, and the Solemn League and Covenant betwixt the two Kingdoms, with their Lives and Goods against all dead Enemies, as their only righteous Sovereign Lord and King.*

And because his Majesty is bound by the Law of God and the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, to rule with Righteousness and Equity, to the Honour of God, to the Good of Religion, and the Wealth of his People: It is hereby declared, That before he be admitted to the Exercise of his Royal Power, he shall give Satisfaction to the Kingdom in those Things that concern the Security of Religion, the Unity betwixt the Kingdoms, and to the Good and Peace of this Kingdom, according to the National Covenant, and the Solemn League and Covenant; for which End we are resolved with all possible Expedition to make our humble and earnest Address to his Majesty. For the Justification of all which, We the Parliament of the Kingdom of Scotland, publicly

* Presently in the Scotch Papers is used for Now, or at Present.

1649.

this our Acknowledgement of his just Rights, Title, and Succession to the Crown of these Kingdoms, at the Market-Cross of Edinbourg, with all usual Solemnities, in like Cases, and ordain his Royal Name, Portrait, and Seal to be used in the Publick Writings and Judicatories of this Kingdom, and in the Mint-house, as was usually done to his Royal Predecessors, and command this Act to be proclaimed at all the Market-Crosses of the Royal Burghs, and to be Printed, that none may pretend Ignorance.

When the Proclamation was ready, the Council dispatched Sir Joseph Douglas to give the King Notice of it, and the States sent also Two Deputies, only to inform him of what had been acted in his Favour, but without any Commission or Instruction to treat with him. Before the Conditions on which he was to be admitted to the Exercise of the Royal Authority were proposed to him, it was necessary to know if he would accept the Crown upon Terms not yet explained, but easy to be guessed at. The Deputies found the King at the *Hague*, whither repaired at the same time, but in another Ship, the Earls of Lanerick and Lautberdale, and some time afterwards the Earl of Montross from France. When the late King, after his Retreat to the Scotch Army, ordered Montross to lay down his Arms, he retired into Germany, and served in the Emperour's Army. Afterwards he went into France, where the Queen and Prince of Wales gave him a Reception very different from what he had Reason to expect, after the great Services by him performed for the King in Scotland. This Coldness was owing to his Arrival in France in the critical Time, that the Queen was using all her Endeavours to prevail with the King her Husband, to throw himself upon the Presbyterians and Scots, and to grant all their Demands, imagining that he had then no other Refuge. It was therefore no proper Season to creep to a Man who was extremely hated in Scotland. His Success

The King informed of it by an Express.

The Earls of Lanerick, Lautberdale, and the Marquess of Montross arrived at the Hague, Clarend.

1649. in serving the King had been considerable, but with such Barbarity, that he had been degraded the *Parliament*, and excommunicated by the *A* so that *Scotland* considered him as her Enemy, as did the *Presbyterians*. As his Residence in *F* was very disagreeable, he had no sooner Notice the Death of *Charles I*, than he repaired to the *E* to offer his Service to the new King. In his Return were some Lords and Gentlemen attached to his Fortune.

The King receives the News of the Proclamation coldly.

The King received coldly the News of his being proclaimed, as the Proclamation was clogged with so many Restrictions. It had nevertheless nothing in it which ought to surprize him, since the *Scots* were contented to nothing which had not been asked of *Charles I*, agreeably to their Covenant, and the Covenant of the Two Kingdoms. But the King and his Council, it seems, were persuaded, that the *Scots* had not the least Title to exact such Conditions. That is to say, that the *Scots* in their Recognition of this new King, ought at the same time to acknowledge the Injustice of their *Covenants*, and depart from all their Pretensions. These were two Contraries which they thought to be irreconcilable; namely, That the *Scots* should own the King's undoubted Right, and yet should desire to capitulate with him. In short, they pretended that whatever had passed the last Ten or Twelve Years, ought to be buried in utter Oblivion. *Charles I*, *Charles II*, and their Co-fellors, were prejudiced in favour of an Opinion which had often deceived them; and that was, That no Mean could be allowed between a blind unreserved Attachment to the King, and the being his Enemy in every Thing; and on all Occasions the *Lord Clarendon's History* is full of Proofs of this Prejudice and Prepossession.

Remark on a Passage in the Lord Clarendon's History.

I shall content my self with One relating to the Subject in Hand. This illustrious Historian in presenting the Nation of *Scotland*, as animated with a just Indignation against the *English Parliament*,

the Murder of the King, would have it inferred; that *Scotland* was inclined to accept the Prince his Son for Successor without any Condition. But as this never happened, he ascribes it to the Artifices and the Credit of the Marquess of *Argyle*. He says, That the Marquess could have wished that the King might never have been proclaimed at all; but as he dared not to oppose the general Sentiments of his Country, he was under a Necessity to go into the common Measures. According to him, the Marquess of *Argyle* was the only Cause that the Restriction in the Proclamation was at all inserted. This Supposition makes the Proclamation the Work of the People in general, and the Restriction in it the Result of the Intrigues of the Marquess of *Argyle*. But if this Restriction was conformable to the Interests and Sentiments of the ruling Party, as I have made it appear, why is it ascribed singly to the Marquess? Was it impossible for the People of *Scotland* to acknowledge the Right of King *Charles II.*, without an unreserved Confidence and Trust in him? But they treated with him no otherwise than they had done with the King his Father, as is plain, from the Covenant itself, in which the *Scots* shewed an extreme Distrust towards the late King, even at the very Time that they engaged themselves to defend his Person and Rights. The Restriction on them contained nothing which was either new, or ought to be looked on as extraordinary. It was a natural Consequence of the Troubles which began in 1637.

However that be, *Charles* was of Opinion, that no great Regard was due to any Thing which had yet been acted for him in *Scotland*. He understood that in the Capitulation intended with him, Things could be demanded of him which he had resolved not to grant, as the Confirmation of the Covenant, and of the Presbyterian Government. He was nevertheless desirous to justify his Disinclination to *Scotland* on the Terms proposed, by the Advice and

Division amongst the Scots at the Hague.
Clarend.
V. p. 285.

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Opinion of the *Scotch Lords* who were then with him at the *Hague*. For this purpose he had a Mind that they should appear together before his *Council*, and there, after their Opinions asked, dissuade him from going into *Scotland*, and that upon this the *Council* should form a Resolution. The Marquess of *Montrose* was forward to take this Step ; but the Earls of *Lautberdale* and *Lanerick*, which last had taken the Title of Duke of *Hamilton* on hearing at the *Hague* the tragical News of the Death of the Duke his Brother, were not inclined to follow him. They thought it was a Step too nice for *Scots* Lords to come to a Resolution of appearing before an *English Council*. By this the Earl of *Traquaire* had before been ruined. On the other Hand, they were so enraged against the Marquess of *Montrose*, that they would have no Communication with him. When the King found that he could not bring them together upon this Subject, he declared however, that he would not go into *Scotland*, but persisted still in his Resolution for *Ireland*. Thus, upon a bare Information that *Scotland* would not receive him without Conditions, he resolved to refuse the Crown of that Kingdom. He did more ; for at the same time he gave Commission to the Marquess of *Montrose* to raise Forces in *Germany*, and make a Descent upon *Scotland*. So that, far from receiving with any Acknowledgement the Offer made him by the *Scots*, he ordered a War to be made upon them, as upon Enemies, because they refused to admit him for their Sovereign, without a previous Engagement. Nothing better justifies the Precautions taken by the *Scots*, though some Historians are pleased to represent them as full of Injustice. The King could not reside any long time in *Holland*, where it was sufficiently intimated to him, that the Dread the *States* were under of a Quarrel with the new Commonwealth, made his Stay there very unwelcome. Besides, they received Advice that the Parliament was about sending an Agent, to propose between the

The King
declares a-
gainst go-
ing into
Scotland.

He gives
Montrose
a Commis-
sion to in-
vade Scot-
land.
Clarend.

Two *Common-wealths* a close Alliance; and this Affair was not to be treated of whilst the King remained at the *Hague*. This Agent, named *Dorilaus*, actually was there before the King left the Place. But the Night of his Arrival, as he was at Supper in his Inn, with some other Persons, Six *Scots* of the Marquess of *Montrosi's* Retinue entered the Room, and after having dragged him from the Table, murdered him *. The Assassins were neither arrested, nor immediately pursued; and though afterwards some Pains were taken to have them apprehended, the *States* shewed some Deference for the King, which gave Offence to the Parliament. Nevertheless the King well knew, that after this Action there was no Security for him at the *Hague*, and the Prince of *Orange* advertised him that he would be desired to depart. He therefore ordered his heavy Baggage and some of his Domesticks for *Ireland*, with a Resolution to follow thither, after he had paid a Visit to his Mother in *France*. But as he was not yet in a Readiness, he prevented the uneasy Compliment which the *States* were to pay him, by presenting himself a Memorial of the State of his Affairs, and asking their Opinion whether he ought to go for *Ireland* or *Scotland*. The *States* observing that he was upon the Point of leaving their Dominions, thought it not convenient to press him, and by that he gained the Time necessary for his Preparation.

Dorilaus the English Agent assassinated at the Hague, May 3. Clarend. V. p. 293.

The King prepares for Ireland. He presents a Memorial to the States.

While the King was deliberating at the *Hague*, concerning the Offer received from *Scotland*, the *States* of

Insurrection in Scotland. Clarend. V. Baker, p. 590.

* He was Doctor of the Civil Law, born in *Delfin Holland*, and bred at *Leyden*, but afterwards lived long in *London*, having been received into *Grassham* Colledge, as a Professor in one of those Chairs, which are endowed for Publick Lectures in that Society, and had been from the Beginning of the Troubles, in the Exercise of the Judge Advocate's Office in the Earl of *Essex's* Army. The Lord *Clarendon* says, they were *Scots* that murdered him, but *Whitlock* says, that they were Twelve *English Cavaliers*, who stabbed him in several Places and cut his Throat, one of them saying at the same time, *Thus dies one of the King's Judges*. *Whitlock's Memoirs*, p. 386.

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no Part of the Army should approach them nearer than the Distance of Ten Miles. But *Raynolds*, by Order from General *Fairfax*, fell upon them with Five or Six Thousand Men when he was not looked for, and gave them an entire Defeat. Nine Hundred Horse, and Four Hundred Foot made Prisoners, were sent to *London*, and some of them executed. Others obtained their Pardon by the Mediation of *Cromwell*. This Affair being thus happily terminated, the Army was prepared which *Cromwell* was to lead into *Ireland*.

The Mar-
quess of
Ormond
unsuccess-
ful in Ire-
land.
Clarend.
V. p. 322.
Baker,
p. 592.
Bates,
P. 148.

He lays
Siege to
Dublin.

While this Army was drawing together, the Marquess of *Ormond* marched towards *Dublin* with an intent to besiege it. This made *Cromwell* immediately dispatch about Three Thousand Men to reinforce the Garrison which was very weak. Mean while, as he believed he could not arrive soon enough to save that City, he came to a Resolution to land his Army in the County of *Munster*, where he hoped to find no Resistance, as he knew that the Lord *Inchequin*, President of that Province, was gone off with his *English* Troops, to reinforce the Army under the Marquess of *Ormond*. But the Marquess having Notice of his Intention, immediately dispatched the Lord *Inchequin* and the Forces under his Command to oppose this Descent, by which he considerably weakened his own Army. He however continued his March, and began the Blockade of *Dublin* about the Middle of *June*. He stopped some time at *Finglas*, Five Miles from *Dublin*, in Expectation of new Succours, and at last passed the River, and posted himself at *Ramines*, to lay the Siege in form. While he was in this Camp, the Succours sent by *Cromwell* arrived in *Dublin*. A few Days after, the Marquess of *Ormond* resolved to repair an old Castle, which by its Situation was proper to hinder any fresh Relief from coming into the Town. But Colonel *Jones* the Governour, who from a Lawyer was turned Soldier, and became a good Officer, sensible how much this Work would prejudice him, resolved to

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to do his utmost to prevent its being finished. For this Purpose he put the Garrison under Arms in the Night, and at Break of Day made a Sally, marched directly to the Castle, and carried it Sword in Hand. This happy Success pushed him on towards the Enemy's Camp. He met by the way a Body of Horse, which stopped him for some Time. But this Body being dispersed, brought back such Terror to the *Irish* Army, that they fled in Confusion without striking a Blow. The Marquess of *Ormond* saw himself obliged to follow the flying Troops, to prevent falling into the Hands of his Enemies. After this Defeat, he was obliged to retire to some Distance, to wait for the Succours which he had been made to hope were shortly to be with him.

*His Army
deserts
2d August*

Cromwell informed of this good Success whilst he was imbarcking his Army, changed his Design, and instead of going to *Munster*, steered his Course to *Dublin*, where he arrived about the middle of *August*. After the Marquess of *Ormond* knew that *Cromwell* was at *Dublin*, he withdrew to a still greater distance, and left in *Drogheda* a numerous Garrison, under the Command of *Sir Arthur Aston*, an Officer of Reputation, who had been Governour of *Reading*, and afterwards of *Oxford*. About the same Time *Londonderry*, the most considerable Town in the North of *Ireland*, which was besieged by the King's Forces, was relieved by a Sally made by *Sir Richard Coot*, much after the same manner with that of *Jones* at *Dublin*.

*Cromwell
lands at
Dublin.*

From what we have related, it is manifest that the King could not venture to go into *Ireland*, whither he had no other Succour to bring but that of his own Person, while *Cromwell* was drawing together his Army on the Coast, and still less after the Defeat of the Marquess of *Ormond*. But as on the other Hand, he was looked on with no good Eye in *France*, where, since his Arrival there, the Court had made him no Offers to serve him, he resolved to withdraw into the Isle of *Jersey*, as the only Place left where he could hope to be favourably received.

*The King
desists from
his Design
of going
into Ire-
land.*

*He retires
to Jersey.
Clarend.
v. p. 324.*

received *

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received *. He retired therefore to that Isle with the Duke of *York* his Brother, and his small Court, where he made a Stay of some Months.

Windram
sent to him
from
Scotland.
Baker,
p. 593.
Clarend.

The Commotions raised by the King's Friends in *Scotland* being appeased, the Committee of the *States* assembled to prepare and digest the Conditions which were to be demanded of the King. It should seem that they were not yet informed in *Scotland* of the King's Sentiments, as they continued still to deliberate upon that Subject, which without doubt they would have dropped, had they been made acquainted with his Resolution. In all probability, as no Step had been taken by the *Estates* to invite him expressly to come and receive the Crown, he did not think himself obliged to communicate his Thoughts to them, and if the Envoys of the *States* and Council had received any Answer from him, it was too general to make any Inference from it. However that be, the Committee of *Estates* having learned that the King was in *Jersey*, sent Mr. *George Windram* to acquaint him, That they were desirous to treat with him concerning his Establishment in *Scotland*: But as the Isle of *Jersey* was neither safe, nor commodious, he was desired to name some Town in the *Low-Countries*, where he might receive their Commissioners. For this Purpose they demanded of him by way of Preliminary, without which they could enter into no Negotiation, that he would be pleased to acknowledge the Authority of the Parliament then in Being, and particularly its two first Sessions. *Windram* left *Edinburgh* the 26th of *September*, and was not with the King till towards the end of *October*, being stopped in his Passage by contrary Winds: So that the King was fully informed of what had passed in *Ireland*, where *Cromwell* had taken *Drogheda* by Assault, having put the Garrison to the Sword, and was pushing his Conquests with wonderful Rapidity. This News made the

* Sir *George Carteret* was then Governour.

the King look upon *Scotland* with another Eye than he had yet done. He knew that neither *France* nor *Holland* would afford him a kind Reception. *Ireland* was entirely shut up to him; and *Fersey* not capable to give him any long Subsistence. Besides, it was no News to him that the Parliament had given Orders for a Fleet to reduce that Island, which was in no Condition to defend itself. *Scotland* then was the only Place where he could find any Safety and convenient Subsistence. He therefore received *Windram* very graciously, and named *Breda* for the Reception of the *Scotch* Commissioners, promising that he would be there the 15th of the following *March*. It was not however without some Uneasiness that he came to this Resolution. Besides his little Affection for the *Scots*, whom he regarded as the principal Authors of his Father's Miseries, he had not one Counsellor about him of Opinion that he should put himself into their Hands. But neither had he any, who was capable to find out another Retreat: So that it was meer Necessity which brought him to the Resolution of listening to the Propositions which the *Scots* were to make him. This, it is not to be doubted, was his only Motive, when it is considered that on the 30th of *January* 1649-50, he wrote to the Marquess of *Montrose*, that the *Scots* had sent *Windram* to him, and that their Deputies were to repair to *Breda*, in the following *March* to treat with him. He therefore pressed him to hasten his Preparations for a Descent into *Scotland* before this Affair was regulated, in order to prevent its coming to a Conclusion, if it was possible, and if it pleased God to favour him with Success *.

Windram being returned with the King's Answer, the Committee of the Estates laboured incessantly to

The King names Breda for the Place to treat with the Scots Commissioners.

Baker,

P. 597.

He writes to Montrose to hasten his Preparations against Scotland, 1649-50. Baker, P. 509. Bate II. p. 206.

* The Earl of *Clarendon* says nothing of this Letter from the King to the Marquess of *Montrose*, but *Baker*, *Bate* and others are positive that it was written.

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finish the Propositions which were to be carried to him. The Project was laid before the Parliament, which made some Alterations, and then ordered it to be communicated to the general Assembly of the *Kirk* for their Approbation. It appears by this, that these Propositions were regulated with the common Consent, as they had the Concurrence of both Parliament and *Kirk*, though some have been pleased to ascribe them singly to the Marquess of *Argyle*, as if they were more agreeable to his Interest than that of the Kingdom. After this the Parliament and General Assembly named Deputies to carry them to the King. These Deputies arrived at *Breda* within the Time assigned, and presented the Conditions to the King, on which they were willing to admit him to the Exercise of the Regal Power. They consisted of the four following Articles :

*Conditions
presented
to the King
by the
Scotch
Commissioners.
Baker,
p. 595.
Clarend,
V. p. 342.*

1. That all those who have been, and continue Excommunicate by the *Kirk* of *Scotland*, may be removed from having any Access to the Court.

2. That he would be pleased to declare, that he would by solemn Oath under his Hand and Seal, allow the National Covenant of *Scotland*, and the *Solemn League and Covenant* of *Scotland*, *England*, and *Ireland*; and that he would prosecute the Ends thereof in his Royal Station.

3. That he would ratify and approve all Acts of Parliament, enjoining the *solemn League and Covenant*, and establishing *Presbyterian* Government, the *Directory* of Worship, the Confession of Faith and Catechism in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, as they are already approved by the General Assembly of the *Kirk*, and by the Parliament of that Kingdom, and that he would give his Royal Assent to the Acts of Parliament injoining the same in the rest of his Dominions, and that he would observe the same in his own Practice and Family, and never make Opposition therein, or endeavour any Change thereof.

4. That

4. That he would consent and agree that all Matters Civil might be determined by the present and subsequent Parliaments of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, all Matters Ecclesiastical by the ensuing General Assemblies of the *Kirk*, as it was formerly condescended and agreed to by his late Father.

After the Reading of these Conditions, the King demanded whether these Papers they had delivered to him contained all the Particulars which they had to propound or desire : Whether they had Power to recede from any particular Article, or to treat with him concerning the Succour which he might expect from *Scotland*, to place him upon the Throne of *England*. They answered, that their Commission extended only to the offering of these Propositions, and they were to receive either his Consent or Refusal.

These Conditions, which to the *Scots* appeared very just, lawful, and absolutely necessary for the Safety of *Scotland*, seemed to the King hard and very unreasonable. This Contrariety will not appear strange if it is considered, that the King and the *Scots* reasoned upon different Principles, and with opposite Views. I am going to explain my self for the Reader's Advantage.

The People of *Scotland* were perswaded that they had been oppressed by *James VI*, in the establishment of Episcopacy in *Scotland* by that Prince, which had been abolished by the Reformation : That this had been brought about by Address, by Artifice, by Violence, whilst corrupt Parliaments were employed to enact new Laws relating to Religion, without any Notice taken of the *Kirk*, contrary to her Will and express Declarations : That *Charles I*, by a Fraud supported with Force, had invested himself with a Power of ordaining whatever he thought fit in Matters of Religion, under Cover of an Act pretended to be granted by a Plurality of Voices, though indeed it had been rejected : That

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by Virtue of this pretended Power, he had not only restored Bishops to their Revenues and Government in the Church, but had moreover given them a Jurisdiction more extensive than they had ever before enjoyed : That he had established a *Higb-Commission* to support this Injustice, and entirely suppressed the General Assemblies. In a Word, that he had changed the *Presbyterian* Government established by the Reformation, into an *Hierarchy* exactly conformable to that of the Church of *England* : That he moreover aimed to impose upon them a *Liturgy* and *Canons* unknown to their Ancestors, and to reduce the Worship of the Church of *Scotland* to a perfect Conformity with that of *England* : That the People of *Scotland* for their own Preservation, and Maintenance of their Rights, so manifestly invaded, had judged it proper to unite together in a *Covenant*, intended to preserve to the King his just Rights, and to the People and *Kirk* their Privileges : That the King, not contented with what of Right belonged to him, had twice made War upon his *Scotch* Subjects to maintain himself in an usurped Power, and to render *Scotland* dependent upon *England* : That this War had been terminated by a Treaty to which only the Necessity of the King's Affairs obliged him to submit : That after this Treaty he had made a Journey into *Scotland*, where he had granted his Subjects whatever they had demanded of him, and even those Things which with the greatest Haughtiness and Obstinacy he had before refused : That they had Reason therefore to suspect that he had only accommodated himself to the Times, till a favourable Opportunity offered, to encourage him to revoke what he had granted : That this Suspicion in the *Scots* was by no means unreasonable, since the same Conduct of the King in *England* had given his Subjects there an immoveable Distrust towards him : That it was therefore of absolute Necessity to reduce him to a State, which would leave no Room for future Fears : That to this end the *Scots* had made

with the *English* a solemn League, as having one common Interest, and that the Fate of Arms had decided in favour of the Allies against the King : That notwithstanding this Decision, the *Scots* never had entertained a Thought of withdrawing themselves from the Obedience due to the King, but only to have Securities from him stronger than could be hoped from bare Promises : That the tragical Death of *Charles I.* had not at all changed the Face of Affairs in *Scotland*, or procured them the Security so many Years desired : That they asked no more of the new King than they had a Right to demand of his Father : That their Desires were by no means unjust, since they pretended to no more than a Maintenance in that State, which they enjoyed before the two last Kings had taken it into their Heads to model Religion and the State according to their own *Caprice* and the *Pleasure* of their *English* Counsellors : That they had risked every Thing to restore themselves to the State from whence they had fallen : That God having granted a happy Success, they saw no Reason strong enough to oblige them to desist, and expose their Repose and Religion to the Caprices of a young Prince, who was known to have the same Sentiments and Principles as his Father and Grand-Father : That the Conditions offered him limited not his Prerogative as King of *Scotland*, but only put it out of his Power to tread in the Steps of the King his Father : That in offering him the Crown of *Scotland*, they had a Right to Demand that he should govern according to the true Interest of that Kingdom : That if these Conditions appeared to him contrary to his Interest with Regard to *England*, he was at Liberty to reject them ; but his Interest with Respect to *England* was no good Reason to engage the *Scots* to risque their Happiness in leaving him the Choice how they should be governed : That it was not yet fifty Years since *James VI.* became King of *England*, and that *Charles I.* having lost that Crown by his ill

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Conduct, and *Charles II.*, being left without Hopes of recovering it, ought to esteem himself happy that his *Scotch* Subjects had offered him the Crown of his antient Kingdom, on the Terms it had been held by his Ancestors for so many Ages ; and that in becoming a good *Scotts-Man*, he would recover the Figure which his Ancestors the Kings of *Scotland* had formerly made : That no Reason obliged them to suffer Persons about the King, who would give him pernicious Counsel in order to sow Division between the King and his Subjects, Persons excommunicate, and Conspirators against the State in their attempt to replace the late King upon the Throne of his two Kingdoms by open Force and Violence.

*Reasons
and Inter-
ests of the
King.*

But the King reasoned upon other Principles. The Offer of the Crown of *Scotland* was no otherwise regarded by him, than as it might assist his Recovery of the Throne of *England* ; that was the principal Object of his Attention. He little cared to be King of *Scotland*, if the Forces of that Kingdom were not to be at his Disposal for obtaining his other Crown. Nevertheless his Power was to be limited in such a manner, that it should not be possible for him to draw any Advantage from *Scotland* to attain his Ends. All those Persons who were esteemed by him as his best Friends, and who had used their utmost Endeavours to free his Father, and restore him to the Enjoyment of his Rights, were to be removed from his Person and Council ; and yet they were the Persons whose Assistance he relied on for the Recovery of *England*. In accepting the Crown of *Scotland*, he was even to forget that he had any just Claim to the other : He was to govern *Scotland* in the way that his Ancestors had done before they mounted the Throne of *England* ; that is to say, he was to look upon his *English* Friends with lasting Distrust, and consequently renounce all Hope of a Re-establishment in *England*. He was to swear to the *National Covenant*, which had been made against the King his Father, with De-
sign

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sign to prevent his ever introducing the Church-Government and Worship of *England* into *Scotland*, which he believed the only lawful ones. He was to swear to the *Covenant* of the two Kingdoms, the sole Aim whereof was the Maintenance of *Presbyterianism* already established in *England*, which was an infallible Way to make him lose his Friends. He was, lastly, not only to give his Approbation and Protection to *Presbyterianism* in the two Kingdoms, but he was to promise a sincere and constant Profession of the same himself. But this was directly contrary to both his Sentiments and Conscience, as he scarce believed the *Presbyterians* to be any Part of the true Christian Church.

It is apparent from this, that the Interests of the King and those of the Nation of *Scotland* were as opposite as they ever had been during the Life of *Charles I.*, and that the same Difficulties still subsisted, nor were to be surmounted otherwise than by the Arms or Acquiescence of one of the Parties. The King was in no Condition to use Force, and yet the Terms to be imposed upon him appeared so hard, that it would not have cost him one Moment's Deliberation to reject them, had any other Choice allowed him the Liberty. But the melancholy Posture of his Affairs, which yielded him neither Subsistence nor Safety in any other Place, obliged him, though very unwilling, to dissemble his Resentment, and to treat with the *Scotch* Deputies upon Propositions which, to his Apprehension, were the most unjust. There were two Articles which he could not digest. The first was, the Obligation laid upon him to swear to the *Covenant*. He urged, that the *Covenant* had been made for the Subjects, and not for the Prince, since it obliged the Taker to swear to be faithful to the King, but it was absurd for him to swear Allegiance to himself. This Objection would have admitted of no Reply if this had been the only Article in the *Covenant*. But there were others in which it was said that the King was no

The King dissembles his Resentment.

Forms Difficulties upon the Covenant and Religion as they related to his own Person.

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The Commissioners will not succeed.

Are amused by the King.

The Progress of the Marquess of Montrose in Germany. Clarend. V. p. 349. Baker, p. 395.

less concerned than his Subjects. The second related to Religion. He was willing to give his Consent to the Establishment of *Presbytery* in *Scotland* by Act of Parliament: But it could not with any Justice be required of him to renounce the Religion for which the King his Father had dyed a Martyr; but that he would content himself with only three Chaplains to celebrate Divine Service in his Presence after the Manner of the Church of *England*. But all he could alledge signified Nothing; the Commissioners had no Power to recede from any one Article. In the same Manner had the Parliament of *England* used to treat his Father. They left no Power but that of accepting or refusing what was proposed to him. The King was satisfied that Nothing was to be gained by disputing upon the Articles, but he was desirous to prolong the Negotiation as much as possible; in hopes of good News from *Scotland*, where he knew the Marquess of *Montrose* would shortly make his Appearance. This was his last Refuge; and had the Marquess been attended with his former Success, there is no Room to doubt but the Treaty would have come to a short Conclusion, by the King's having it in his Power to reject absolutely the Conditions proposed to him: But the Progress of the Marquess was not such as the King hoped for.

After that Lord had left the King at the *Haague*, he went to the North of *Germany* to endeavour to raise Forces and Money, the King having only given him a bare Commission without any other Assistance. The King of *Denmark*, as near Relation to the King, furnished him with a Sum of Money, and the *English* settled in *Sweden* assisted him all they could. With this Relief he saw himself in a Condition to buy Arms and Ammunition, and to enlist five Hundred Soldiers which he sent in the Month of *March* into one of the Isles of *Orkney*. He followed himself in the Month of *April*, and from thence repaired with his Troops to *Catbess* in the North of *Scotland*. It was precisely at the Time that the *Scottish* Commis-

Commissioners were with the King at *Breda*. As the King had received Information that *Montrofs* was already gone for *Scotland*, he waited the Issue of this Expedition before he would come to any Conclusion with the Deputies, whom he nevertheless entertained with Hopes of granting their Demands.

After the Marquess was arrived at *Cathness*, he seized a Castle convenient for the Security of his Arms and Ammunition; then he wrote to his Friends to join him. At the same Time he published a *Manifesto* in which he set forth, "That he was come with a Commission from the King to protect his good Subjects; but with no Design to obstruct the Negotiation at *Breda*; on the contrary he hoped to hasten the Conclusion of it by Means of his Army. If the Treaty succeeded, he should without any Difficulty lay down his Arms on the first Command from his Majesty."

He arrives in Scotland. Bate, p. 208.

The *Scotch* Parliament then sitting at *Edinburgh* was surprized to hear of the Arrival of *Montrofs* in that Conjunction with a Commission from the King. It was not difficult to comprehend that, whatever was pretended, this was not the Way to forward the Treaty, but rather to obstruct it, and force the Parliament to desist from Conditions which they judged so necessary for the Safety of the Kingdom. It may well be imagined that this Step gave no favourable Opinion of the King's Sincerity.

The Conduct of the King offensive to the Parliament of Scotland;

Mean while, as *Montrofs* was not to be neglected when it was remembred what his Success had formerly been in the Service of the late King, the Parliament gave immediate Orders for the raising with all possible Expedition an Army of six Thousand Men, under the Command of *David Lesley*. Until this Army could be got ready, Colonel *Straughan* was detached with three Hundred Horse to march Northward in Order to awe the Country, and prevent the King's Friends from joining with *Montrofs*. This Precaution had a surprizing Effect. The King's Friends, either fearful of falling into the Hands of

which raises 6000 Men against Montrofs.

Straughan sent before with 300 Horse.

1650.

Montrofs
surprized,
defeated,
and taken
Prisoner,
19th of
April.

Condemn-
ed to be
hanged.

this *Cavalry*, or dreading the Approach of the six Thousand Men which were to follow, made no Efforts, and *Montrofs* received no Assistance but from some ill-armed and worse disciplined *High-landers*. So that his small Army, if it deserves that Name, composed of Soldiers of different Nations, Strangers to one another's Language, and brought into a barren Country, were in no Condition to make any great Progress. Besides, as *Montrofs* had no Horse to scour the Country and bring him Intelligence, he was unacquainted with what was acting in other Places, and particularly the March of *Straughan*, in vain expecting the King's Adherents to come and join him. To this was owing his being surprized by *Straughan's* handful of Men, which, after a long March, fell upon him unexpected. At Sight of the Enemy the *High-landers* deserted and fled; the Foreigners gave more Resistance, but in the End were routed. The Marquess being forced to fly, threw away his Ribband and George, and took the Habit of a Peasant to prevent a Discovery. He wandred some Days in this Habit, and at last put himself into the Hands of a Gentleman named *Aston*, who had formerly served under him, and promised his Concealment. But whether the Hope of the Reward published for the taking him, or the fear of his most rigorous Punishment if he concealed him, wrought upon him*, it is certain that he delivered him into the Hands of *Lesley*, who immediately sent him to *Edinburgh*. The Parliament then sitting resolved to try him; and as, since his Degradation, he went by no other Name than that of *James Graham*, and was universally hated, no Regard was paid to his Birth. He was condemned to be hanged on a Gallows thirty Foot high, with this Addition to his Sentence, that after he was dead, his Head should be severed from his Body, and set on *Edinburgh* Tolbooth: His Arm

an

* Bate in his *Flanchus Museum* assures us, that *Aston* received two Thousand Pounds, in reward of his Treachery.

and Legs sent to four different Cities, to be there exposed a Spectacle, and his Body buried under the Gallows. He met Death with extraordinary Resolution, and before his Execution made a Speech to the People, in which, far from owning himself to have done any thing worthy of Death, he testified on the contrary an entire Perswasion of the Justice of the Cause which he had supported. He said that *Charles I.* died a Martyr, and assured the People that the new King would observe all his Promises made to the *Scots*, wherein he was as bad a Prophet, as the Lord *Capel* had been in *England*. Thus fell the Marquess of *Montross*, who had rendred himself famous by great Actions performed for the late King in *Scotland*; but, at the same Time, odious to his Country-men by his Inhumanity to them whenever he had the Advantage.

1650.

Makes a Speech before his Execution.
21st May.

The tragical Death of the Marquess of *Montross* dashed all the King's Hopes, who saw himself by this Means deprived of the only Refuge which was left him. He complained loudly to the Commissioners of the Execution of that Lord at the very Time of the Negotiation, and contrary to all good Faith. He wrote at the same Time to the Committee of Estates in the same Strain of Complaints. But the Answer returned shut his Mouth, and instructed him that his Silence was his best Plea in this Affair. That Answer imported, that Papers were found upon *Montross*, which it was more for his Honour to conceal than to publish. The King easily understood that by this was meant the Commission granted to the Marquess after having received the News of his being proclaimed, and his Letter written the 30th of *January*, after the Time and Place of Conference was fixed. This justified the Parliament of *Scotland* with Regard to the Charge of Breach of Faith, and shewed that it indeed lay on the Side of the King.

The King complains of his Execution.
Baker, p. 599.
Bate, p. 212.

The Answer of the Estates,

The Death of the Marquess of *Montross* having left the King without Refuge or Place to retire to with any Safety and Convenience, he at last accepted

The King signs the Treaty,
June.

1650. the Conditions, such as they had been proposed by the Commissioners. The Signing of the *Covenant* was deferred till his Arrival in *Scotland*, with a Promise from him of complying in that Article, if it was judged proper to press him upon it when he should be at *Edinburgh*. The Commissioners were willing to grant him this small Favour, well assured that Nothing would ever prevail with the *Estates* to recede from this Demand. It is certain that the King submitted to these Conditions, only because he had no other Course to take; and it is, perhaps, no less certain, that he had no Intention to observe them any longer than he was under Compulsion. This is manifest from the History of those Times written by the Partizans of the King, who have thought it strange that the King should be obliged in *Scotland* strictly to observe what he had promised by Oath. As if his Promise and Oath had been only empty Formalities, which were not to bind him.

He embarks in Holland for Scotland, June. 1aker, p. 599.

Arrives there, and is obliged to sign the *Covenant*. Clarend. VI. p. 3. Hamilton and Lautberdale conceal themselves.

After the King had signed the Conditions, he went to *Scheveling* near the *Hague* to take Shipping for *Scotland*. He had in his Retinue the Duke of *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Lautberdale*, and some other Scots, who gave him Hopes that his Presence in *Scotland* would remove all Suspicions, and that an exact Observation of what he had promised would be dispensed with. But on his Arrival, before he was suffered to land, the *Covenant* was so pressed upon him, that he could not avoid taking it. He had positively promised this at *Breda*, and none about him durst advise him to break his Word. This Exactness of the *Estates* made Duke *Hamilton* and the Earl of *Lautberdale* sensible that it was not safe for them to appear publickly in *Scotland*. Therefore having found Means to land with the King, they retired to their own *Estates*, or the Houses of their Friends, to keep out of Sight, till a more favourable Opportunity should call them Abroad.

The Manner of the King's Reception.

The Marquess of *Argyle* received the King with extraordinary Reverence and outward Marks of Respect.

1650.

spect. But two Days after, all his *English* Domesticks were taken from him, excepting only the Duke of *Buckingham*. Some of them were obliged to return into *Holland*, others withdrew at a Distance from the Court to Friends who were willing to entertain them. This Rigour appears strange at first, and by some *Reasons for it*. But it is to be considered that the *Scots* were for receiving the King on no other Terms than those on which they would have admitted his Father. Had he happily escaped from Prison, and retired into *Scotland*, certainly they would never have suffered about him Persons of Principles and Maxims directly opposite to the Interests of *Scotland*, and the Kingdom's reputed Enemies. Why then were they to repose more Confidence in *Charles II*? Precaution was not more necessary under the last Reign, than under the present.

After the Friends and Confidants of the King had thus been removed from his Person, he saw himself in the Hands of Men who were Strangers to him, and of Principles different from those in which he had been educated: So that he found himself under great Difficulties, though outwardly he received all the Respect due to his Rank. But what gave him the most Vexation, was the Importunity of the Ministers, pretending a Duty incumbent on them to instruct him in the *Presbyterian* Religion, and making no Scruple to brand the *Hierarchy* and Worship of the Church of *England* with the Name of *Doctrine of Devils*. They pretended that the King's Promise and Oath to make Profession of *Presbyterianism* obliged him to receive their Instructions. The Streight he was in on this Occasion was a natural Consequence of the Promise he had made, with no Intention to keep it. To extricate himself out of this Difficulty in the best Manner he was able, he was present at their Sermons and Prayers, but with so little Attention, that it was too plain his Heart did not join with them. The Reluctance he shewed upon this Article gave the *Scots* an untoward Opinion of him,

The King under great Difficulties in Scotland. Clarend. VI. p 367. Bare, p. 213.

He discovers his Disposition with regard to Religion, and loses the Confidence as of the Scots

1650. as they were perswaded that he had sworn against his Conscience, with an Intention to observe his Promises no longer than he should be constrained to it. It ought not therefore to seem strange that they had no Confidence in him, and that those of them who were in the chief Management of Affairs had little Communication with him. He was not considered as a Prince attached to the Interests and Religion of the Kingdom, but as having an Intention to establish other Maxims when it lay in his Power. But if we look back to what had passed of late Years, and to the Source of the Troubles, it will not be thought so strange that the *Scots* took Precautions with regard to their new King, and refused him a Confidence, which, in that nice Conjunction, appeared to them very dangerous.

*Aims to
re-establish
the Ha-
milto-
nians.*

It was not long before it was seen how necessary these Precautions were, by the Efforts which the King made to reconcile to the State and the Church, those who had entered into the late Duke of *Hamilton's* Engagement to raise an Army, which, under colour of acting against the *Independents*, was designed to restore the late King to the Throne of *England* without any Condition. By this the Contrivers had plunged *Scotland* into a War not only unnecessary, but moreover directly contrary to its Interests. Besides their ill Conduct had occasioned the Loss of a numerous Army, and a great Effusion of Blood. But what might not the *Scots* have had to say in aggravation of the Crimes of the *Hamiltonians*, had they known the secret Treaty made with the late King in the Isle of *Wight*, so contrary to the *Covenant* of both Kingdoms? It is not therefore strange that Men who had gone into Views so opposite to the Interest of the Kingdom, or at least of the prevailing Party, were regarded by that Party as Enemies of the State and of Religion. These nevertheless were the Men for whom the King laboured so strenuously, under the Pretence of procuring a happy Union amongst his Subjects. But at the same time he dis-

covered

covered sufficiently his Aversion to the Maxims by which *Scotland* was then governed, and his Intention to put his Friends in a Capacity to oppose the Marquess of *Argyle*, who was the Head of the contrary Faction and of the present Government. That Lord easily fathomed the King's Intention. And therefore instead of that Attendance on his Person, and Application made to him before, he gradually withdrew himself from him, as from a secret Enemy who only waited an Occasion to ruin him.

Argyle distrusts the King.

Whilst these Things passed in *Scotland*, the Parliament of *England* was not asleep. After they had learned that Commissioners from *Scotland* were to have a Conference with the King at *Breda*, they judged rightly that *Charles* would accept the Crown of *Scotland* on any Terms, in order to make use of the Forces of that Kingdom to invade *England*. This War, which the Parliament deemed unavoidable, could not but be very dangerous to the Independent Party, if it was brought into *England*. The *Independents*, though then uppermost, had no other Support but the Army, with the *Presbyterians*, the *Royalists*, and the City of *London* for their Enemies. There was therefore a great likelihood, that if the King should enter *England* at the Head of a Scotch Army, he would be joined by the *Royalists*, and favoured by the *Presbyterians*. It was therefore in prevention of this Danger that the Parliament resolved to carry the War into *Scotland*. This Resolution was founded entirely upon political Interest, so far as the Parliament had nothing to complain of from the *Scots*, who, in recognizing for their Sovereign the eldest Son of their late King, did no Injury to *England*. Nay, it was a Consequence of the Covenant of the two Kingdom, though manifestly violated by the *English* Parliament. But here the Parliament believed themselves not tied to a scrupulous Observation of the Rules of Equity, for fear of the prejudice with which such Scruples might in time be attended. It was therefore determined entirely by Interest,

Resolution of the English Parliament against Scotland.

1650. Interest, which required the War rather to be removed into *Scotland* than expected in *England*.

Cromwell
recalled
from Ire-
land.

After the Parliament had come to this Resolution, *Cromwell* was hastily recalled out of *Ireland* to take the Command of the Army which was to act against *Scotland*. In the last Invasion which the *Scots* had made upon *England* under the Leading of Duke *Hamilton*, the Behaviour of General *Fairfax* had given Occasion to judge that he would unwillingly accept the Conduct of this new War, and in that they were not mistaken. *Cromwell's* Success in *Ireland* had been such as the Parliament could have wished.

His Con-
quests in
Ireland.
Clarend.
V. p. 358.

After the taking *Drogheda* before-mentioned, he seized *Kilkenny* and many other Places, and in a little time reduced the greatest Part of the Island to the Obedience of the Parliament. The Marquess of

Division
amongst
the Irish.
Bate, p.
162.

Ormond was little capable to give him any Resistance, such was the Division still reigning amongst the *Irish*. This Division went so far, that *O Neale* had at last concluded a Treaty with *Monk* one of the Parliament Generals, commissioned to treat with him by the Council of State. But the Parliament refused to ratify the Treaty as it was too favourable to the *Catholicks*, and therefore *O Neale* had begun to treat with the Marquess of *Ormond*, and was

The Death
of *ONeale*
the Irish
Rabel.

upon the Point of joining him, when his Death prevented the execution of his Design. His Troops dispersed upon his Death, without any Advantage received from them by the Marquess of *Ormond*. In the mean Time *Cromwell* continued his Conquests with surprizing Rapidity; and to prevent the Accommodation and Junction of the *Irish* amongst themselves, he thought of one Expedient, which suc-

Cromwell
permits
the Irish
to serve
foreign
Princes.
Clarend.
V. p. 361.

ceeded to his Wish. He published by Proclamation a Permission to all the *Irish* Officers to enlist to what Number they pleased, in the Service of foreign Princes, Soldiers of their own Nation, with a Promise to give them no disturbance or molestation. More than twenty five Thousand immediately embraced the Offer, and went into the Service of *France* and

Spain,

Spain, and a greater Number followed afterwards. 1650.

This Step prevented the Marquess of *Ormond* from bringing an Army into the Field capable to make Head against that of the Parliament. So that when *Cromwell* was recalled, the *Irish* Affairs were in so good Condition, that his Son-in-Law *Ireton*, left behind as his Lieutenant, had hardly any Business remaining upon his Hands. *He leaves Ireton in command of Ireland.* Bate, p. 171.

Cromwell, returned to *London*, and took his Seat in the Parliament, where, by Order of the House the Speaker returned him Thanks for the Services he performed for the Common-wealth. After this, the *Scotch* War being the most pressing Affair, the Parliament caused *Fairfax* to be asked whether he would take upon him the Conduct of the War. He replied, That if the *Scots* entered *England* with an Army, he would not be wanting in his Endeavours to drive them back ; but he desired to be excused from falling upon them in their own Country. Some Endeavours were used to convince him of the Justice and Necessity of this War, but without any Success. *Cromwell* acted his Part so well, that though he passionately wished to be Commander in Chief, yet he gave his Opinion in favour of *Fairfax*, and pretended that he should be well satisfied with serving under him as his Lieutenant. *Fairfax* understood well enough, that, as he was a *Presbyterian*, (notwithstanding his Services too faithfully performed for the *Independents*) the Parliament had no great Confidence in him, and that the Zeal shewn in this Affair on his behalf, was only an empty Ceremony. He therefore sent his Commission to the House which was cheerfully received, and he had an annual Pension of five Thousand Pounds settled on him in acknowledgement of his Services. Immediately *Cromwell* was declared General of the Armies of the Commonwealth, and his Commission dispatched out of Hand *. *Fairfax deposes himself from the Generalship, and is succeeded by Cromwell,*

While 26 June.

* *Whistock* says, the Lord *Fairfax* being advised with, seemed at

1650.
The Par-
liament's
Manifesto.

While the Army was raising which was to act against *Scotland*, the Parliament appointed a Committee to draw up a *Manifesto* on occasion of the intended War. This Precaution appeared so much the more necessary, as the House was not ignorant that the *Cavaliers* and *Presbyterians* would leave no Stone unturned to cause this War to be looked upon as the most unjust that ever was, being begun with no Provocation from *Scotland*. The Committee employed about the *Manifesto*, not willing to publish the true Reason of the War, which was no other than the Support of the *Independent Cause*, contented themselves with a suspicion, that the *Scots* had a Design to force the *English* to acknowledge King *Charles II*, though they had not then moved one Step towards it. It was nevertheless very likely that the King would attempt every Expedient to bring the *Scots* to a Rupture with the *English* Parliament; but there was no great probability of Success, considering the Reluctance he shewed against becoming a good *Presbyterian*.

The Scots
raise an
Army un-
der Lesley.
Clarend.
VI p. 375.

The *Scots* having received Advice of the Preparations in *England* for a War against them, raised an Army with all possible diligence, and gave the Command of it to General *Lesley*, not daring to trust the King for Reasons already given. He was not so much as allowed to see this Army more than once, for fear of gaining the Officers and Soldiers by his Intrigues. *Lesley* formed his Camp between *Leith* and *Edinburgh*, and fortified it with such Intrenchments that he

at first to like well of carrying the War into *Scotland*, but afterwards being hourly perswaded by the *Presbyterian* Ministers and his own Lady, who was a great Patroness of them, he declared it was against his Conscience. Whereupon the Council of State appointed *Cromwell*, *Lambert*, *Harrison*, *St. John*, and *Whitlock* to confer with *Fairfax*, and endeavour to satisfy him of the Justice of the Undertaking. *Whitlock* gives us the Conference at length in his Memoirs; wherein though *Cromwell* and the rest of the Soldiers were very earnest with him not to lay down his Commission; yet, says *Whitlock*, there was cause to believe they did not much desire he should continue it, *Whit. Mem.* p. 445.

he was not to be attacked without manifest Danger. 1650.

About the middle of *July Cromwell* put himself at the Head of the *English* Army, consisting of eighteen or nineteen Thousand Men, and marched to the Frontiers of *Scotland*, where he published his Manifesto. As the Enemy's Army lay encamped near *Edinburgh*, he met with but little Difficulty in his Entrance into *Scotland*. But he found the Country without Inhabitants, and every thing capable to subsist his Army conveyed away; so that he saw himself obliged to maintain his Soldiers with Provisions brought on the Coasts by his Fleet. He nevertheless advanced forward, and came in sight of the Enemy's Army; but found it too well intrenched to hazard an Attack. He took therefore a Resolution to march towards *Musselborough*. Whereupon *Lesley* detached a large Body of Horse, which fell upon the *English* Reer commanded by *Lambert*, with some Advantage. The Day after there was a sharp Skirmish in which the *Scots* beat some *English* Regiments; but at last were drove back to their Camp with considerable loss. After this Success, *Cromwell* once more attempted to draw the *Scotch* Army out of their Intrenchments, but his Endeavours were fruitless. At last, after some Weeks spent by the two Armies facing each other, *Cromwell* for want of Provision and Forrage was obliged to retire. His Design was to put his Foot on board his Fleet, and to return into *England* with only his Horse. To execute this Resolution, he marched towards *Dunbar*, where his Fleet expected him, his Army being much diminished and reduced to about twelve Thousand Men.

Cromwell enters Scotland, 22d of July.

Skirmishes between the Armies.

August.

He marches to Dunbar. Clarend, VI. p. 376;

The *Scots*, advertised of his Resolution, imagined that the *English* Army was under a Terrour, and that a more favourable Opportunity could not offer to fight, and therefore they left their Camp to follow them closely. The first Day they encamped upon a Hill at a Mile's distance from *Dunbar*, so that it was impossible

The Scotch Army pursues him, 1st September.

1650. impossible for *Cromwell* to ship off his Foot, without exposing himself to the danger of being beaten. General *Lesley* was of Opinion that the *English* were not to be attacked, but only watched in order for an Opportunity to ingage them with better Advantage. But the Clamours of the Ministers which were in his Army, and promised a certain Victory, as if by some Revelation, obliged him the next Day to draw nearer to the Enemy. *Cromwell*, who observed them with a prospective Glass, seeing them descend from the Hill, cried out, *That God had delivered them into his Hands.* He immediately ordered a Prayer to be made, and then told some of his Officers that he had felt, whilst he prayed, such a Repose in his Mind, that he made no doubt but God would give him the Victory. This was either his real belief, or an Artifice to inspire his Soldiers with Courage, who were most of them *Fanaticks*. The two Armies remained facing one another all the rest of the Day, *Lesley* always finding some Reason to delay fighting. But in the Night *Cromwell* took the Resolution to fall upon the *Scots* at break of Day. It was a Maxim of his in fighting, and had always proved successful, not to expect, but to fall upon the Enemy, the Assailants having always a great Advantage.

Battle of Dunbar the 3d of September.
Clarend.
VI. p. 276.
Baker, p. 601.
Bate, p. 222.

The Scotch Army defeated.

This Resolution being taken, he drew up his Army in the Night, and not to be prevented, began the Fight an Hour before Day. The *Scotch* Cavalry on the Right Wing performed well at first; but were at last drove back and put to flight. The Left Wing fled without sustaining one Charge. Three Regiments of *Scotch* Infantry fought with such Bravery, that the greatest Part died on the Spot, without once turning their Backs, the Remainder seeing themselves deserted by the Horse fled in Confusion, leaving the Field, and an undoubted Victory to the *English*. It is said that the *Scots* had three Thousand Men killed, besides seven or eight Thousand made Prisoners, and that the *English* lost no more than three

three Hundred. The *Scots* after their Defeat abandoned *Leith* and *Edinburgh*, of which *Cromwell* made himself Master; but the Castle held out till the End of *December*.

This Misfortune to the *Scots* was a Benefit to the King, as it brought them under a Necessity of altering their Conduct with Relation to the *Hamiltonians*. When the Army lately defeated at *Dunbar* was raised, the greatest Care was used to prevent any from being admitted, who had either been concerned in the *Engagement* of the late Duke of *Hamilton*, or were suspected of Affection to the King. In a Word, the rigid *Presbyterians*, who were then at the Head of Affairs, would have no Society with those whom they had called the *Luke-warm*, that is, 'Men not of approved Zeal for the *Covenant*. After the Defeat of *Dunbar*, there was a Thought of raising a new Army to oppose *Cromwell*, who threatened *Scotland* with entire Ruin the following Spring. The Parliament was convened for this Purpose at *St. Johnston's*, whither the King had retired. But as a new Army was not easily to be formed of the *Zealous*, it was proposed in Parliament to receive into this, those who had hitherto been called *Luke-warm*, who offered their Service to their Country in its present Distress. This Affair being brought to Deliberation, the Parliament was under a Necessity of coming to this Resolution, *viz.* That all who had been excluded from Places, were allowed to produce Proofs of their Repentance, and these be employed in the Service of their Country with others. In Consequence of this Resolution, those who had till then opposed the Marquess of *Argyle*, who had faltered in their Zeal for the *Covenant*, who had shewn an inclination for the King, who had even been employed by *Charles I.*, ran eagerly to give outward Marks of their Repentance in a Disavowal of their past Conduct, and a Reconciliation with the *Kirk*. After this they were admitted, as well into the Parliament as to publick Employments, and principally to those of the Army

The Hamiltonians admitted to Employments under Conditions.
Clarend. VI. p. 393.
Baker, p. 602.
Bate, p. 227.

1650.

Army then to be raised: By this the King at last obtained what he had so passionately desired, the seeing Men attached to his Interests in a Condition to serve him when Occasion should offer.

*A Protest-
ation a-
gainst their
Admission.
Baker, p.
602.*

But the Resolution of the Parliament, to which Necessity had been either the Motive or the Pre-
tence, was not agreeable to all. The *Zealots* were not of a Temper to suffer Men, hitherto shut out from Employ, to be admitted upon the Pretence of a Resolution obtained from the Parliament by Intrigue and Cabal, as had been before practised in raising an Army to fight against the Interests of Scotland. They said that it was a *mocking of God* to receive the Guilty to a hypocritical Repentance, only to readmit them into Employ from which they had been justly excluded. But it was answered, that it were extreme Rigour and Injustice to keep Men out of Employ, who offered their Service to their Country at a Juncture the most critical that had ever been known, and had confessed a Repentance for not having been sufficiently zealous before for the Common Cause. In a Word, the First protested solemnly against the Resolution of the Parliament, and formed a Party called the *Protesters*; whilst those who adhered to the Resolution formed another called the *Resolutioners*. Five western Counties * joined the former, and entering into an *Association*, published a Remonstrance, which upon its being offered to the Parliament was voted Seditious. But this did not hinder several Officers of Reputation, as *Straghan*, *Kerr*, and some others, from joining the Party of the *Protesters*.

*Reflections
upon the
Resolution
of admit-
ting the
Hamilton-
ians.
Clarend.*

It is certain, that if the People of Scotland had been consulted, this Resolution had never passed in the Parliament. The People were so attached to the *Covenant*, that there was no Likelihood of their departing from their Rigidity at once, in Favour of Person:

* *Cliddisdale, Renfrew, Air, Galloway, and Nithisdale, Burn
Hill. p 56.*

Persons who had either never subscribed it, or had made no Scruple to violate it. It is therefore very clear that this Resolution was owing to the Artifices and Cabals of the Enemies of *Argyle*, on pretence of the Necessity of raising new Forces. Nothing is a clearer Evidence of the Repugnance of the People in general to it, than the Condition required, of testifying a Repentance from all who were to be admitted to any Employments. This is a Proof of the Regard had to the Body of the People, who were perswaded that a *Luke-warmness* for the Covenant was a Crime of the deepest Guilt. It was therefore publicly said that the Defeat at *Dunbar* was the just Punishments of having called the King, before any Proofs were given of his Repentance. This was the most generally received Opinion, though the Parliament had decided contrary to it. But neither in *Scotland* nor *England* are the Resolutions of Parliament to be always considered as the Result of the Nation's Sentiments in general. It is a Defect in the Constitution of both the *States*, that the Deputies to the Parliament receive no Instructions from those they represent. The Moment they are met, they become Masters and Sovereigns of those by whom they are elected, and palm upon the Nation their own Decisions for those of the Publick, though they are ever so contrary (as they frequently are) to the Sentiments and Interests of the People represented. Instances are so frequent, that I need not stay to bring Proofs of what I advance.

The Managers of this Affair in the Parliament, well knew that the Party of the *Protesters* was far more numerous than that of the *Resolutioners*. It was therefore thought convenient by them to give an appearance of Satisfaction to the former, to prevent their obstructing the Designs which were formed in favour of the King. One of their Projects was to put the King at the Head of an Army, almost wholly at his Devotion, to enable him, when he found it convenient, to march into *England*,
V. L. XIII, F where

1650.

*The King's
Strange
Declaration.
Burnet's
Hist. of his
own times,
p. 56.*

where he doubted not to find a great Number of Friends, and a powerful Assistance. The rigid *Presbyterians* were therefore not to be alarmed at seeing the King at the Head of the Army, for fear of their concerting Measures to hinder the Execution of the Project. For this Purpose it was thought proper that the King should publish a Declaration of a strange Nature, where he was made to speak a Language agreeable to the Sentiments of the People, but very contrary to his own. In this Declaration, he owned *the Sin of his Father in marrying into an Idolatrous Family* : He acknowledged *the Bloodshed in the late Wars lay at his Father's Door* : He expressed a deep Sense of his own ill Education, and the *Prejudices he had drunk in against the Cause of God, of which he was now very sensible* : He confessed *all the former Parts of his Life to have been a Course of Enmity to the Work of God* : He repented of his *Commission to Monarchs, and of every Thing he had done that gave Offence* : And with solemn Protestations he affirmed, *that he was now sincere in his Declaration, and that he would adhere to it to the end of his Life in Scotland, England, and Ireland*. When this Declaration was offered him to sign, he appeared at first resolute to reject it ; saying, *That if he signed, he was never more to look his Mother in the Face*. But upon a Representation of its absolute Necessity to gain him the Confidence of the *Protesters*, without which he could never be in a Condition to execute his Designs, he swallowed the truly bitter Pill, and the Declaration was made Publick.

*Disappointed in
his Expectations
from it.*

This Declaration procured not the Advantages which the King was made to hope from it. No Body believed that it was signed with his free Will, as it was so scandalous in itself, and so prejudicial to the Reputation and Memory of his Father. The *Protesters* on the contrary imagining that he concealed some deep Design in this strange manner of Proceeding, united themselves more closely against him And at last declared that they would have no Com-

municatio

munication with the *Resolutioners*, any more than with *Cromwell* and the *Independent Party* in *England*.

1650.

It was with extreme Vexation that *Charles* saw himself disappointed in his Declaration, from which he received no other Benefit than the Loss of the Confidence of both Parties, and of his own Reputation. All the World was persuaded that so scandalous a Diffimulation was a formed Design to overreach the People. At last, this false Step, which he had taken so contrary to his own Opinion, joined to the Captivity in which he was held, inclined him to listen to Propositions made to him by some of his Friends in the *High-lands*, who would receive no Employments at the Price of an hypocritical Repentance. These Gentlemen sent a Message to him, that if he would put himself at their Head, they would send to meet him at a Place appointed, a good Body of Troops to receive him. A Physician named *Frazier* was the Manager of this Intrigue, and took Care to convey the Letters. The King consented to join the Malecontents, being extremely desirous to withdraw himself from the *Presbyterians*, who had put so many Hardships upon him. He had prepared a Declaration, wherein he set forth all the harsh Treatment received from the Marquess of *Argyle*, and the miserable Servitude in which he had been held since his Arrival in *Scotland*. The Duke of *Buckingham*, let into this Secret from Letters left upon the King's Table, informed the Marquess of *Argyle*, who would not believe that the Project was so near its Execution. Nevertheless, two Days after, the King having conveyed himself from *St. Johnstown*, repaired to the Place appointed; but found only a Handful of Men waiting for his coming, when according to Promise he expected a good Body of Troops. But while he was deliberating what Measures it was proper for him to take, the Committee of State dispatched *Montgomery* to him, who, with a little too much Rudeness, pressed his Return to *St. Johnstown*. He followed

The King's Flight.
Clarend.
VI. p. 394.
Baker,
p. 601.

1651.

Cromwell
enters Fife.
Baker,
p. 605.
Bates,
p. 233.

A De-
tachment
from the
King
routed.

Cromwell
makes
himself
Master of
St. John's-
town.
Bates,
p. 235.

ty of *Fife* plentifully supplied the King, resolved to make an Attempt to deprive the King of this Advantage. For he saw plainly that it was in the King's Power to avoid fighting as long as he pleased, and at the same Time oblige him to spend the whole Campaign in a State of Inaction. With this Design he detached sixteen Hundred Men under the leading of Colonel *Overton*, who marched towards *Edinburgh* to a Place provided with Boats, passed the *Firth*, and took his Post in the County of *Fife*. *Overton* was immediately followed by *Lambert* at the Head of a more considerable Body. At the same time *Cromwell*, with the rest of the Army, advanced towards the King's Intrenchments as if with Design to attack them, in order to prevent any Detachment from the King's Army which might oppose the Landing of his Forces. As soon as the King was informed that the *English* were in the County of *Fife*, he detached Major-General *Brown* with four Thousand Men to fight them. *Brown* was routed, and *Cromwell* by this had full Liberty to transport his whole Army into the County of *Fife*. By this Means he deprived the King of any further Supplies from that County.

It was indeed an Advantage to *Cromwell* thus to put the King under a Necessity of quitting a Post where he could not be attacked. But at the same Time he had made it impossible for himself to fight him, because a deep River ran between the Armies which joins the Lake of *Lomund* to *Edinburgh-Firth*. The King might have passed the River because he was Master of all the Passes, but it was not thought proper to pursue *Cromwell*, who was now at a great Distance, having made himself Master of *St. Johnstown*, and threatened *Sterling*. On the contrary, the King took a sudden Resolution to march into *England*, having nothing before him capable to stop him, and pleased that *Cromwell* had given him Opportunity to form and execute a Design so convenient

ent for his Interest. He saw himself at the Head of eighteen Thousand Men, and doubted not a considerable Increase of his Forces when he should reach *England*, from the *Royalists* and *Presbyterians* equally oppressed by the *Independent* Parliament. This was the Notion which the King and his Council formed of this Expedition. The Marquess of *Argyle* was alone of the contrary Opinion, and so far incurred the Suspicion of Disloyalty, that the King was advised to put him under Arrest. But it was not thought proper to follow this Advice, from which no Advantage could be drawn. The Marquess therefore was left in *Scotland*, and the King put himself upon his March to *Carlisle* with extraordinary Diligence. He had made some Days March before *Cromwell* received Notice of it, and entered *England* the sixth Day of *August*, where he caused himself to be proclaimed by his Army.

The News of the King's March gave *Cromwell* the greater Surprise, as it was what he had never expected. He believed he had gained a considerable Advantage in forcing his Way into the County of *Fife*. But this had given the King an Opportunity to march into *England*, where it was very likely he would be joined by a great Number of Adherents. To avoid this was the Aim of the Parliament in carrying the War into *Scotland*. It may therefore be said that *Cromwell* was guilty of an Error, which might have been attended with very ill Consequences to the new-modelled Common-wealth, and the governing Party. Therefore his greatest Care was to prevent the Inconveniences which might result from it. As he doubted not but the Parliament would be alarmed at the News of the King's March, he made haste to inform them of it, and withal, that he was going to pursue him closely. He advised them also to put the *Militia* in Arms in all Counties of the Kingdom, with all possible Diligence, to keep the King's Party in Awe, and prevent their joining his Army. He gave himself the

1651.
The King
marches
into Eng-
land.
Clarend.
VI. p. 396.

Cromwell
disturbed
at the
News of
the King's
March.

Precauti-
ons and
Orders of
Cromwell

1651. same Orders in the northern Counties, as well to hinder the *Cavaliers* from rising, as to find a good Body of the Trained-bands ready to reinforce his Army on his Arrival in *England*. At the same Time he detached Major General *Harrison* with three Thousand Horse, which were to be followed by *Lambert* at the Head of another Body of Cavalry, to retard the King's March as much as was possible. These Precautions thus taken, he left Major-General *Monk* in *Scotland* with five Thousand Men, with Orders to endeavour to make himself Master of *Sterling* and *Dundee*. At last he put himself upon the March, making all possible haste to reach the King before he could get to *London*, not questioning but he would march thither without stopping.

*The King
receives
but little
Relief
from Eng-
land.*

*Baker, p.
696.*

The King entered *England* full of hopes that all the Enemies of the *Independents*, as well *Presbyterians* as *Royalists*, would run in Crowds to join him. For this Purpose he sent Colonel *Massy* before with a Detachment to receive all those who were willing to serve him. He wrote likewise to the Earl of *Darby*, then in the *Isle of Man*, to repair to him, placing great Expectations in him from the Credit which he had in the County of *Lancashire*. But a great many Things conspired to disconcert his Projects. 1. In proportion as he advanced the *Scotch* Soldiers deserted in such Numbers, that it was computed four or five Thousand returned back to *Scotland*. These Deserters were probably the zealous *Presbyterians*, who were of Opinion that they could not in Conscience assist the King in the Recovery of *England* by Force of Arms, which was the Opinion of the greatest Part of the *Scots*. 2. The *Militia*, every where in Arms, kept the King's Friends from coming together, by Guards placed in all the publick Roads. 3. The Committee of the *Scotch Kirk*, which had followed the Army, feared that if the King's Forces were augmented with too great a Number of *Royalists*, their Superiority might oblige the *Scotch* Army not only to assist in the Ruin of the *Independents*,

denes, but moreover in the Restoration of the King without any Conditions, which was directly contrary to the Interests of *Scotland*. In this Thought the Committee sent to *Massy* a Declaration with Orders to publish it; setting forth that the King being a zealous Stickler for the *Covenant*, no Persons were to be received into his Army who refused to sign it. This was done without the King's Privity, and gave him a good deal of Vexation. He even forbade *Massy* to publish the Declaration. But the Noise of it having reached the most distant Parts, the Favourers of the Royal Cause thought it proper to keep at a Distance, not daring to mix with the *Scotch* Army, because they could not bring themselves to a Resolution of taking the *Covenant*. 4. The *English Presbyterians* were indeed Enemies to the *Independents*; but not such Friends of the King, as to restore him to the Throne without a previous Assurance of his ratifying the Concessions made by the King his Father at the Treaty of *Newport*. But this not being a proper Season to enter into a Negotiation of that Nature, they did not appear very eager to send him. 5. The Earl of *Darby*, who had been sent by the King into *Lancashire*, and had there raised Twelve Hundred Men, was defeated by Colonel *Lilburn* at the Head of Ten Troops of Horse brought from *York* to join with *Cromwell*. It was with great Difficulty that the Earl made his Escape to the King after the Loss of his Forces, and the Lord *Widdrington* and Sir *Thomas Tildesly* left dead upon the Spot. This Defeat discouraged the King's Friends of those Parts, who intended to repair to his Army.

Clarend.
VI. p. 400.

The Earl
of Darby
defeated,
25th Aug.
1651.

At last, after a very fatiguing March, the King arrived at *Worcester*, where he was honourably received by the Magistrates, and solemnly proclaimed. He resolved to refresh his Army in the Neighbourhood of that City, as the Soldiers were not able to continue their March without some Repose. Probably his Design was to have reached directly to *London*, if his

The King
stops at
Worcester,
22d of
August.

1651. his Army had received Reinforcements on the Road, which he expected. But on the contrary, he saw his Troops much diminished by Desertion, so as to be reduced to Twelve or Thirteen Thousand Men, without any Prospect of their being augmented, for the Reasons before given. It is therefore likely that he durst not advance farther, and that he thought the Situation and Neighbourhood of *Worcester* were capable to keep him upon the Defensive, in case he should be attacked.

Cromwell arrives at Worcester, Sept. 1.

While the King's Army refreshed themselves at *Worcester*, *Cromwell* was making all haste thither. His Orders for assembling the Forces and *Militia* of the North were so well obeyed, that on his Arrival in *England*, his Army was daily increased by Parties from all Quarters. By this Means, after he had joined *Lambert* and *Harrison*, he found his Army much superiour to that of the King, which lay encamped about a Mile from *Worcester*, with a Resolution to stand upon their Defence. *Cromwell*, before he attacked the King's Army, thought it proper to make a Diversion on the other Side the *Severn*. For this Purpose he detached *Lambert*, who marched directly to *Upton*, where was a Bridge guarded by *Massy*. This Passage was so vigorously attacked, that after a sharp Engagement, *Massy* was obliged to abandon it. Immediately after, *Cromwell* ordered part of his Army to go over to the western Side of the *Severn*, which forced the King to send some of his Forces the same way, and so to weaken that Part of his Army which was to sustain *Cromwell's* Attack.

Gains a Passage over the Severn. Baker. p. 606.

Battle of Worcester the 3d of September. Clarend. VI. p. 80. The King's Army defeated.

The 3d of September, a Day before fortunate to *Cromwell* by the Defeat of the *Scots* at *Dunbar*, he charged the Royal Army on both Sides the *Severn*. After an Engagement of some Hours the King's Forces were driven back on both Sides the River, and forced to retire into the Town in such Confusion, that the Entrance was forgot to be defended. The King's Sollicitations were thrown away, and incapable

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ble to inspire his now vanquished Troops with Resolution to resist any longer a victorious Enemy. At last, his Cavalry seeing the Enemy breaking into the Town fled, and left the Infantry to the Mercy of the *English*. The King saw himself constrained to fly through *St. Martin's Gate*, and with great Difficulty avoided falling into the Enemy's Hands. The Foot were almost entirely killed or taken; and the Horse, warmly pursued, were easily dispersed; so that the greatest Part of the Officers and *Cavaliers* were made Prisoners. It is pretended that the *Scots* lost about Two Thousand on the Field of Battle, and had Seven or Eight Thousand made Prisoners, who were sent to *London*, and there sold for Slaves into the Plantations of the *American Isles*. The Duke of *Hamilton* mortally wounded, died the next Day. Amongst the principal Prisoners were General *Lesley*, the Earls of *Lautberdale*, *Rothes*, *Carnwarth*, *Kelly*, *Darby*, and *Cleveland* *.

The King, though happily escaped from the Defeat, was nevertheless under great Difficulties. It was now his Business to steal from the Pursuit of his Enemies; but that was no easy Matter. He found himself in the Middle of *England*, which he could no longer consider but as an Enemy's Country, though he had in it still some Friends. He was under a Necessity to quit it, and find some way to convey himself beyond Sea, which then appeared impracticable. It was still more dangerous to attempt a Return into *Scotland*, because he would probably be searched for more carefully on that Road than any other; and even though he should safely reach that Kingdom, the Danger would still be the same to him here as in *England*. The Parliament Army, victorious in that Nation, as we shall see presently, would have afforded him no secure Retreat there. He therefore came to the Resolution of getting that Night as far

*The King's
Flight and
Arrival in
France.
Baker,
p. 609.
Bates,
p. 240.
Clarend.
VI. p. 413.*

* *Lesley* reached *Lancashire* before he was apprehended, and the were overtaken and made Prisoners at *Newport* in *Cheshire*, a Detachment of *Lilburn's* Horse.

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as possible. Whereupon he dismissed his Attendants, who could only serve to discover him more easily, and put himself into the Hands of a trusty Guide, by whom he was habited like a Peasant, and conducted through By-roads. In this melancholy State he spent a whole Day in a thick Tree growing near the publick Road *, from whence he saw and heard People who travelled the Road talking of him ; some of them wishing he would fall into their Hands. He travelled only in the Night, his Guide concealing him by Day in Cottages where he was not known, and where his Diet generally was only a little Milk. At last, after the greatest Fatigues sustained, after infinite Dangers escap'd, after a great Part of the Kingdom traversed during the Space of two Months, from *Worcester* to the County of *Suffex* †, he took Ship, and safely arrived in *Normandy* the 22d of *October*. The curious are referred to the Earl of *Clarendon*, who, from the Mouth of the King himself, has given us a circumstantial Account of the Methods of his Escape, and the Adventures of his Flight (a).

Monk
makes
himself
Master of
Scotland.
Baker, p.

We must now return to the Transactions of *Scotland* since the two Armies left that Kingdom. While *Cromwell* was in pursuit of the King, Monk, in Obedience to the Orders left him, laid Siege to *Sterling*, which held out but a few Days. This Place, one of the strongest of *Scotland*, where the Publick Records were preserved, surrendered the 14th of *August*. All the Papers and Records were sent to *London*, from whence they never returned, the Ship which

* This Tree grew in the thickest Part of the Wood, which was searched with the greatest Exactness — This Wood was either in, or on the Borders of *Staffordshire*.

† He went in a little Bark from *Brighton*, a small Fishery-Town in *Suffex*. *Whislock* says, the King and the Lord *Wilmot* went to *London*, where they stayed three Weeks, and the King went up and down in a Gentlewoman's Habit, and at *Westminster-Hall* he saw the State's Arms, and the Scotch Colours. *Whislock's Mem.* p. 488.

(a) See likewise *Bates's Elenchus*, and a little Book called *Boscobel*.

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which was to bring them back after the Restoration, having been cast away. After the Surrender of *Sterling*, *Monk* sat down before *Dundee*, whether the Inhabitants of *Edinburgh* had conveyed their best Effects after the Battle of *Dunbar*. During this Siege some *Scotch* Gentlemen gathered some Forces together with Design to relieve the Town. But a Detachment from *Monk* surprized and dispersed their Troops, and took their Leaders Prisoners. Notwithstanding this Misfortune, the Governour made a good Defence till the Town was taken by Storm the fifth of *September*, two Days after the Battle of *Worcester*. The taking of *Sterling* and *Dundee* were followed by that of *Aberdeen*, *St. Andrews*, and all the rest of the Towns and Castles which were capable to make any Resistance. Thus in a very short time *Monk* reduced the whole Kingdom of *Scotland* to the Obedience of an *English* Parliament. And this was the remarkable Consequence of the King's Resolution to conduct the *Scotch* Army into *England* *.

The Victory of *Worcester*, and the Reduction of *Scotland* gave such a Reputation to the new Republick, that every State in *Europe* either courted its Friendship, or dreaded its Arms. For this Reason the greatest Part of the Sovereigns excused themselves from making any Offers to the King, or supplying him with any Money, for fear of becoming suspected to the Parliament. So the King saw himself reduced to great and lasting Extremities, and even to a Want of common Necessaries. He lived at *Paris*, maintained by his Mother, who had a Pension from the Crown; but Cardinal *Mazarin* making

The King
in great
Distress.
Clarend.

The *Scotch* Army had no Choice left, but that of either staying in their own Country, or driving out *Cromwell* who had wrested out of their Hands the County of *Fife* which gave them Subsistence. *Lesley* had learned at *Dunbar* what it was to fight *Cromwell* upon equal Advantages; and the King's Measures were fatal, and his Expectations from his *English* Friends so well grounded, that no just Charge lies against him for the Disappointment of either.

his

1651. his Court to the Parliament of *England*, took no Notice of the Distress of this unfortunate Prince.

Cromwell
in great
Credis.

On the other Hand, *Cromwell's* Reputation and Glory were arrived to that height, after the Battles of *Dunbar* and *Worcester*, that as he was Master of the Armies of the three Kingdoms, he was in effect Master of the Resolutions of the Parliament, where no one durst openly oppose him. He had besides in the House so great a Number of Creatures, that it was easy for him to bring to Effect whatever he resolved. So that it may be truly said, that he was the *Head* of the Common-wealth, whilst he only bore the Title of General.

Power of
the Com-
mon
wealth of
England.

This Common-wealth was very powerful from its Beginning. This appears strange at first sight, considering the great Sums of Money consumed, and the Blood shed in the Civil Wars. But it is to be considered, with Regard to the Expence of Treasure, that the Money had not been carried out of the Kingdom. The only Alteration that had happened was, that the Rich were become Poor, and the Poor Rich; but that had not sunk the Capital Stock of the Kingdom. And as to the Numbers of Men swept away in the Civil War, it is to be farther considered that *England* swarmed with People in the Year 1642, having had no Wars to speak of since the Death of *Elizabeth*. So that the Blood shed in the Civil War, had not so diminished the Number of Inhabitants, as to weaken the Kingdom to any great Degree. This is evident from the Easiness wherewith, in the Space of one Year, the Parliament raised Armies, one for *Ireland*, and one more considerable for *Scotland*, besides the Forces left behind in *England*. The Navy, having had no Enemies to engage during the War, was in a flourishing Condition. In a Word, *England* was not less powerful than it had been under *Elizabeth*, and might have been under *James I.* and *Charles I.* had those Princes thought proper to engage in Foreign Wars. Nothing therefore was altered but the Government; and that was

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in the Hands of the most able Men *England* had beheld for a long while, though the Usurpation was the most unrighteous. In this Respect *England* found itself in a Condition very different from what it had been under the two preceeding Kings, whose Capacity to govern will receive but slender Praises from disinterested Persons.

Cromwell returned to *London* the 12th of September, leading after him in Triumph his principal Prisoners, who were committed to the *Tower*, from whence *Maffy* some time after found Means to escape. A Majority of the Parliament, with the Speaker at their Head, attended by the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, met him out of Town as far as *Acton*. Eight Days after the Earl of *Darby* was tryed and sentenced by a Council of War, and beheaded at *Bolton* in the County of *Lancaster* *.

Cromwell
returns to
London.

The Earl
of *Darby*
executed.

While these Things passed in *England*, the Parliament Fleet became Master of the Isle of *Jersey*, *Cor-* *Jersey, Barbadoes,*
net-Castle in the Isle of *Guernsey*, and the Isle of *Man*. and other
In the Month of *January* following, Sir *George As-* *Isles taken*
cougb reduced the Isles of *Barbadoes*, then governed by the Fleet
by the Lord *Willoughby* for the King; and the Isles of the Par-
of *Mevis* and *St. Christophers* submitted without Op-
position.

England now enjoying a profound Tranquillity, and *Ireland* being almost reduced, the Parliament entertained Thoughts of uniting *Scotland* with the Commonwealth of *England*. As the *English* had made a Conquest of that Kingdom, they believed they had a

The Par-
liament u-
nites *Scot-*
land to
England.

* *James Stanley* Earl of *Darby*, confessed upon his Trial, the Plot for a general Rising of the *Presbyterians* in *Lancashire*, to join with the King; but it was disappointed by the apprehending of *Mr. Birkenhead*. He confessed also the Matters of Treason charged against him, and submitted to the Mercy of the Parliament. And for Plea, 1. He alledged, He had Quarter given him; and therefore was not to be tried by a Court-Martial 2. He pleaded Ignorance of the Acts of Treason set forth by the Parliament. But the Pleas were over-ruled; and he was sentenced to lose his head at *Bolton*, where he had killed a Man in cold Blood. *Whis.*

1651. Right to impose their own Conditions upon it, and were under no Obligation to consult the *Scots*, who were no longer capable to give them any Resistance. An Act therefore passed in the *English* Parliament, which entirely abolished Kingly Power in *Scotland*, and united that Kingdom to the *English* Commonwealth, with a Power to depute a limited Number of Representatives to the Parliament. Commissioners were afterwards sent into *Scotland* to adjust the Particulars of this Union. The greater Part of the *Scotch* Nobility, seeing themselves unable to resist the Parliament, submitted to their Measures. The Marquess of *Argyle* became one of the most zealous Sticklers for the Commonwealth, but the Clergy were very much dissatisfied with this Union.

The Parliament afraid of Holland.

After the *Independents* had appeared openly upon the Stage, they had made a great Progress. They had beheaded King *Charles I.*, abolished the House of Lords, turned the Monarchy into a Commonwealth, quashed the Faction of the *Levellers*, humbled the *Presbyterians*, subdued *Scotland*, and almost finished the Conquest of *Ireland*. By the Victory obtained at *Worcester* they seemed to have left the King's Condition so forlorn, that nothing more was to be feared from him. Nevertheless the *Royalists* were still a Thorn in their Side, and gave them continual Apprehensions. Indeed this Party appeared too weak to recover by their own Strength or Efforts; but they were not without a Possibility of receiving Foreign Assistance. *France* and *Spain* were not dreaded by them, because they were satisfied that the Managers of the Affairs of these two Kingdoms had no Intention to attempt the Restoration of King *Charles*; or if they should be desirous to do something in his Favour, their Fleet was no Match for the Parliament's. But there was another State which gave them some Fear. This was the Republick of the *United-Provinces*, who found themselves in a Condition to give Assistance to the *Royalist*. There was even a likelihood that the Prince of O

range, Brother-in-Law to the King, would make use of his great Credit and Influence in those Provinces to engage them in the Quarrel between the King and the Parliament. It therefore equally concerned them to prevent any Assistance to the King from *Holland*, and to keep the *Scots* from assisting the *Presbyterians*.

For this Purpose the Parliament had, in the Year 1649, sent *Dorisslaus* to *Holland* to propose a strict Union betwixt the two Republicks. The Assassination of that Agent at the *Hague*, before remembered, made the less Noise in *England*, because the Parliament had in View to prevent any Danger which might come from the *Dutch*, by a strict Alliance with the *States*. The Prince of *Orange* dying the *October* before, the Parliament judged the Occasion favourable to treat with the *States*, because the Interest of that Prince could no longer give any hindrance to the Negotiation. They sent therefore in *March* 1651 *Oliver St. John*, and *Walter Strickland* to the *Hague*, to negotiate not a bare Alliance, but such an Union as might make the two Republicks become one. This Proposal met with great Opposition from the *States*. First, The *English* pretended to oblige the *States* to a Renunciation of all their Alliances, those excepted which were common to them with the Republick of *England*. Secondly, The Conditions proposed by the *English* were of such a Nature, as left all the Advantages on their Side, with the Forces of the *United Provinces* thrown in to serve properly only to the Augmentation of those of *England*. Thirdly, If the Time of the Arrival of the *English* Troops at the *Hague* be considered, it will be easily seen that the Affairs of the Parliament were not yet in a Situation to oblige the *States* to be contented with Conditions so little advantageous. 'Tis true indeed *Cromwell* had the Year before gained the Battle of *Dunbar*: But this was a decisive Stroke, because the King was upon the Point of seeing himself at the Head of a new

1651.

*They try
in vain to
unite the
two Com-
mon-
wealths.
Clarend.
VI. p.457.*

1651.

Army, as he afterwards did, before the *English* Envoys left the *Hague*. Lastly, The Faction of the House of *Orange* not being yet entirely suppressed, opposed with all their Power the Union of the two Republicks, which would have over-turned all the Hopes of the young Prince, born after the Death of his Father. All these Considerations laid together were the Cause that, in the Month of *July*, the *English* Envoys returned not only dissatisfied with their ill Success, but affronted by Insults on their Persons from the Rabble of the *Hague*. This let them see that the Subjects of the *States* were more Friends to the King than to the Parliament, and confirmed them in the Suspicion that the *States* waited only a favourable Opportunity, to espouse openly the King's Interest. The Account then given of their Negotiation contributed to exasperate the Parliament against the *States*. Their Resentments would perhaps have then broke out, had not the *Scotch* War found them Employment at Home. The Parliament therefore judged it convenient to dissemble their Anger till that War was terminated, to which the Battle of *Worcester*, and *Monk's* Success in *Scotland* gave at last a prosperous Conclusion.

Very angry with the *States*.

But if the happy Success of this War put the Parliament in Condition to undertake another against *Holland*, it seemed on the other Hand, that the Motives to a fresh War no longer subsisted. For after the Parliament was become Master of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, there was no likelihood of any Assistance to be given to the King by the *States* of the *United Provinces*. Besides, as the Prince of *Orange* was dead, there was no Probability that the *States* would contribute to restore the King Unkle of the young Prince, whom they designed to sink to the Level of a private Person. Nevertheless, the Parliament's Resentment against the *States* was so great, that a War was resolved upon. Pretexes were sought from Injuries said to be done to the *English* by the *Dutch* thirty Years before at *Amboyna*, and other Places in the

Comes to a Resolution of declaring War against them.
Baker, p. 612.

1651.

the *Indies*. It is pretended that *Cromwell* gave his Consent to this War, of which he saw no Necessity, in pure Complaisance to *St. John* and some others, who appeared extremely incensed against *Holland*.

Secret Motive to the War the ruin of Cromwell.

The strong Passions shewn by the Parliament to engage in this War upon such distant Pretences, give room to Conjecture that there were other Motives than those which were publicly pleaded. There is a great likelihood that even then some Members, either secret Enemies of *Cromwell*, or jealous of him, sought Opportunities either to ruin him, or at least considerably to lessen his Power. This Power in a private Person appeared to them too dangerous for a Common-wealth. They had participated in his Counsels and Designs to subvert the *Presbyterian* Parliament, and therefore well knew his *Genius*, and what it was capable of. And therefore they could not help dreading, that under the specious Colour of acting for the Publick, with which he covered his Ambition, he had his own Interest solely in view. They saw at least with great Uneasiness, that if he was forming any ambitious Design, nothing could hinder him from putting it in Execution as long as he was Master of the Army. This Support was therefore either to be taken from him, or the Common-wealth exposed to the Designs of his Ambition. But it was no easy Matter to obtain his Consent to the Disbanding of an Army which had their Dependance upon him, and his great Credit in the Parliament gave no Hopes of effecting it there, without some pressing Necessity. It was believed therefore, that if the Republick could be engaged in a Sea-War, the great Expence of which was easily foreseen, the Parliament might by degrees come into the Thought of parting with the Land-Army, to avoid an unnecessary Charge. This Reasoning may appear at first too refined; but three Considerations help to support it. First, the Causes alledged for this War appear not of sufficient Weight to engage the Parliament in an Expence so considerable, at a

1651. Time when, on the contrary, it was so necessary to let the People taste the Sweets of Peace, in order to make them relish the Republican Government which was but just established. Secondly, It will be seen in the Sequel, that all the Submissions which the *Hollanders* offered to make, were ineffectual to obtain a Peace for them, and it was even with Difficulty that the Parliament would hear their Proposals. This plainly shows that the Parliament had some secret Motive for the Continuation of this War; and it is difficult to find any other than that above-mentioned. Thirdly, It is certain, and will hereafter appear, that *Cromwell* at last was sensible that this War was continued only to give the Parliament an Opportunity of disbanding the Army; and that it is this Consideration which made him resolve to destroy a Parliament bent upon his Ruin. I own that it was no easy Matter to prove that the Authors of this War against the *United Provinces*, had at first the Views I have ascribed to them, and that as to the Beginning of the War it is only a Conjecture. But this Conjecture rises into Proof, when it is considered, that in the End the principal Members joined together to humble the Power of *Cromwell*; and that the War was only continued to make the Expence of it a natural Reason for disbanding the Land-Army, as unnecessary for any other Use than that of supporting *Cromwell's* Ambition.

An Act
passed in
the Eng-
lish Parli-
ament
which
gave rise
to the War.
Clarend.
VI. p. 461.
Baker, p.
613.

However this be, *Cromwell* returning victorious from *Worcester*, as he had before done from *Ireland* and *Scotland*, rose to such Credit and Authority, that he became as it were the Soul of the Parliament and Common-wealth. Whether he did not at first penetrate the secret Motives of the projected War, or for some other unknown Reason, he readily enough consented to the Design of humbling *Holland*, which was considered as the only Foreign Power the Parliament had to fear. But as the People were to be managed, who would not have been easily persuaded of the Necessity of this War, it was expedi-
ent

ent to cause the *Hollanders* to be the Aggressors, or at least to furnish a Pretence for making War upon them. For this Purpose the Parliament, under Colour of encouraging Navigation, made an Act which forbad all Foreign Commodities to be brought into *England* in any other than *English* Bottoms, or such as were of the Country from whence the Commodities came. By this Act, which was to commence from the first of *December* 1651, all Commerce between *England* and *Holland* was at an end, since that Commerce consisted only in Foreign Merchandizes which were brought from *Holland* in their own Vessels. Besides this, the Parliament granted *Letters of Mart* to several private Men, who complained of an unjust *Confiscation* of their Ships in *Holland*. 1651.

The *States* easily saw into the Design of the Parliament, but far from beginning Hostilities, as was expected by the *English*, they sent an Embassy to *London*, to sollicite a Revocation of the Act before-mentioned. The Parliament received the Ambassadors with Marks of Respect, and granted them several Audiences, in order to have it believed that it would not be their Fault if the Peace between the two Republicks were not preserved. But when the particular Articles were to be discussed, it was plain that the Parliament was bent upon War. Instead of revoking the Navigation Act, several stale Pretensions were revived. Satisfaction was demanded for the Massacre committed upon the *English* at *Ambosna* in the Year 1622; for the Losses sustained from the *Dutch* since the Year 1618 in the *Indies*, *Persia*, the Country of the *Mogul*, *Muscovy*, *Greenland*, and the Isle of *Poleron*. These Losses, according to the Parliament's Estimation, amounted to seventeen Hundred Thousand Pounds *Sterling*. Besides, a suitable Reparation was insisted on for the Murder of *Dorilaus* committed at the *Hague*, under the Eye of the *States*, who had taken no proper Measures to bring the Authors to Punishment. It was pretended, Lastly, That Satisfaction was to be made for the secret

The States endeavour to avoid a War.

Pretensions of the Parliament.

Letters of the Parliament to Foreign Princes.

P. 41.

1651. Intelligence which the last Ambassadors from the *States* had held with the late King during the time of the Civil War. For these Satisfactions and Reparations, the Parliament offered to enter into an Alliance with the *United Provinces* upon the Terms which their Envoys had proposed at the *Hague*.

1652. These Propositions convinced the *States* that they were to prepare for War. Wherefore with great Care and Expence a Fleet was put to Sea of a Hundred and fifty Sail. Notwithstanding they were unwilling to declare War against the Parliament, and were for having, if possible, the *English* Aggressors. For this Purpose, while the *States* Ambassadors were still at *London*, their Admiral *Martin Van Trump*, one of the bravest and most experienced Sea-men in *Europe*, in the Month of *May* appeared in the *Chânnel* with a Fleet of Forty-two Ships of War, pretending to convoy a Sail of Merchant-Men, and came and anchored in *Dover-Road*, probably with a Design to give the *English* a Provocation to begin Hostilities. Admiral *Blake*, who commanded the *English* Fleet consisting only of Twenty-six Sail, appearing in View, the *Dutch* weighed Anchor, and put out to Sea without striking their Flag; whereupon *Blake* fired three Guns without Ball for a Signal to Strike, to which *Trump* answered no otherwise than by drawing up his Ships in Line of Battle, and in Contempt of the Signal, discharged one single Gun; and coming up to the *English* Admiral gave him a Broad-side. So the Fight began without any Certainty which Side was the Aggressor *. The two Admirals had positive Orders so to behave, as not to come to an Engagement without apparent Necessity. The *English* say that *Trump* had Order from the

First Sea-
Engage-
ment,
May 17.
Clarend.
VI. p. 459.

* The Refusal of striking the Flag, and the Broad-side given by *Trump* to *Blake*, seems to put it out of all doubt that the *Dutch* were the Aggressors. Though *Rapin* takes this Account from the Lord *Clarendon*, yet either himself, or the *French* Translator has so mangled this Passage, that I thought best to insert it, as it is in the Author he quotes.

1652.

the *States* not to strike to the *English*, in order to put them under a Necessity of beginning of Hostilities. This is not without Probability, though the *Dutch* Authors make no mention of it *. *Blake* being reinforced with eight Ships, the Engagement lasted from four in the Afternoon till Night; the *English*, if Historians are to be credited, had not one Ship damaged, and the *Dutch* lost two, one taken, and one sunk. They say farther, that Night coming on, *Trump* drew his Fleet to the Back of the *Goodwin* Sands, and the next Morning sailed away for *Zeland*. The *Dutch* own the Loss of two Ships, but affirm that the *English* had six sunk, and that the Night only saved their Fleet from entire Destruction. It is difficult to come at the Truth in such contradictory Accounts, especially when Sea-Engagements are the Subject. It seems nevertheless, that the Consternation at *London* occasioned by this Battle, and the Insults offered to the *Dutch* Ambassadors from the Populace, so as to cause Guards to be given them by the Parliament, discovered an Uneasiness and Dissatisfaction there *1.

The *Dutch* Ambassadors, well acquainted with the Intention of their Masters, endeavoured, in an Audience obtained of the Parliament, to make the Battle the pure Effect of Chance. On the other Hand, *A Successful Ambassy from the States*, the *States* dispatched to the Parliament an Ambassador Extraordinary, to move for an Accommodation. The Person was *Adrian Pauw*, who had been Pleni- July.

* The Lord *Clarendon* says, the Council of the Admiralty of *Holland*, who govern the Maritime Affairs without Communication with the *States-General*, ordered *Trump* not to strike, Vol. VI. P. 455.

*1 Our Historians say, that the Consternation was on the Side of the *Dutch*. Their immediate Applications for an Accommodation are some Proof of this, and the Insults upon their Ambassadors prove only, either that the Rabble of *London* thought they had a right to affront Persons pretending to treat of a Peace, at the Time that their Masters were committing unprovoked Hostilities against us, or that they were become Insolent with the News of their Countrymens Success.

1652.

July.

*Manifesto's from
both the
Nations.
August.*

*The Right
of the Flag
insisted on
by the
English,
and replied
to by the
States.*

*Van
Trump's
Fleet dis-
persed by a
Tempest,
August.
New Hist.
of Hol-
land.*

potentiary at the Peace of *Munster*. But the Parliament insisting upon the same Terms as were proposed before the Rupture, the *States* recalled their Ambassadors, and resolved to continue the War, which was the only Way they had to come at Peace. A Manifesto was published by them, in which it was pretended that the Parliament had begun the War without any Provocation given by them; and the Parliament answered in another, wherein were set forth all those Occasions of Complaint above-mentioned. To this was added the Refusal of the *Dutch* to strike, which was a Right the Parliament resolved to maintain, whatever might be the Consequence. The *States* replied to this, that it was true indeed, Their Republick in its Infancy, had paid this Compliment to the Royal Dignity, at a time when *England* was under the Dominion of a King, but they could not believe themselves obliged to pay the same Respects to that Nation now, when it had changed its Monarchy into a Common-wealth. After all, this was by no Means the true Ground of the War. But these *Manifesto's* were necessary to vindicate the Rulers of both Republicks, and to impose a Belief upon the Subjects, that they were not plunged into these extraordinary Expences to support a War, without the most evident Necessity.

The War being sufficiently declared, as well by the *Manifesto's*, as a Battle already fought, *Van Trump* put to Sea with a Fleet of seventy Sail, while *Van Gallen* sailed to the *Mediterranean* to fight the *English* there. *Trump's* Design was to engage Admiral *Ayscough* who lay in the *Downs* with part of the *English* Fleet. But while he was waiting an Opportunity to execute his Intent, Admiral *Blake* with forty Ships sailed to the Northward, in order to fall upon the *Herring-Fleet*, and the Men of War which were to convoy them. *Trump* informed of this his Design, pursued him closely, and overtook him off of *New-Castle*; but while he was preparing for the Fight, a furious Tempest so dispersed and shattered his

his Fleet, that he was able to bring no more than 1652.
Forty into the Ports of *Holland*. The rest that escaped being wrecked, did not reach the *Texel* till some Weeks afterwards.

Much about the same Time *Ruyter* convoying a Fleet of Merchant-men with Thirty-four Ships, was met by Sir *George Ayfcough*, and a furious Engagement ensued, which was bravely fought on both Sides, till *Ayfcough* at last was forced to stand in for *Plymouth*, and leave *Ruyter* an open Passage to convoy his Fleet into *Holland*. *Engagement between Ruyter and Ayfcough 16th of August.*

While they were fighting in the *Channell*, *Van Galen* fell upon the *English* in the *Mediterranean* and beat their Fleet: But his Victory cost him his Life, which he lost in the Engagement. *Van Galen killed, March.*

In the mean Time the *English* put to Sea with a formidable Fleet, and made themselves Masters of the *Channell*, so that the *Dutch* Fleet durst not look out. During which Time a considerable Number of *Dutch* Vessels returning for *Holland* without knowing the War was begun, fell into the Hands of the *English*, and amongst others, a Fleet of forty Sail from *Portugal*, and six from the *Indies* richly laden. *The English formidable at Sea, take great Numbers of the Enemy's Ships.*

Whereupon the *Dutch*, to expose no longer their Merchants to such great Losses, gave Notice to the Merchant-men which were returning for *Holland*, to sail to the Isle of *Rhé*, where a Fleet would be ready to convoy them. Pursuant to this Project *Trump* left the *Goree* the first of *December* with seventy Men of War and six Fire-Ships, and encountered *Blake*, who expected him in the *Channell*. The Fight lasted from eight in the Morning till Night, when Part of the *English* Fleet made Sail towards the *Downs*, and the Remainder failed into the *Thames*. *Blake* being wounded in the Engagement, his Fleet was in some Disorder, and *Trump* upon it continued his Voyage. *Trump sails to the Isle of Rhé. Fight in the Channell.*

From the Death of *Charles I.*, the Duke of *Gloucester* his third Son had been confined in the Isle of *Wight*, and brought up as a private Gentleman; they who had *The Duke of Gloucester sent out of the Kingdom, February the 1652-3.*

1652. the Charge of his Education having received exprefs Orders not to pay him any Refpects, which might put him in Mind that he was the Son of a King. Now the Parliament refolved to fend him out of the Kingdom, for which Purpofe he was conducted to *Dunkirk*, from whence he paid a Vifit to his Sifter the Princefs of *Orange* at *Breda*, and then repaired to the King his Brother at *Paris*.

A Sea-Engagement which lafted three Days, Feb. 28. O. S.

In the Month of *February* *Blake* again put to Sea, being affifted at his own Request with *Monk* and *Dean*, the former being called out of *Scotland* for that Purpofe. The Intention of the three Admirals was to fall upon *Trump* in his Return from the Ifle of *Rhé*, with the three hundred Merchant-Ships he was to convoy from thence to *Holland*. The *States* informed of the great Preparations made in *England*, had provided on their Side, twenty Ships to join their Admiral in his Passage Home, but could not effect their Purpofe by Reafon of contrary Winds. In the mean time *Trump* having got into the *Channel*, and conducting his Sail of Merchant-Men along the Coafts of *France*, met the *Engliſh* Fleet, much fuperiour to his own in Number of Ships. But finding himfelf too far advanced to draw back, a furious Engagement began, which continued three fucceſſive Days, and had been renewed the fourth, had the Ships on either Side been in a Condition to ſuſtain a freſh Encounter. The *Dutch* loſt in this Engagement eighteen Men of War, and eight Merchant-Men. But their Hiſtorians pretend, that one and twenty Ships of the Enemy were funk, and three run aſhore. Each Side challenged the Victory. However that be, *Trump* convoyed his three Hundred Merchant-Men into *Holland*, the eight excepted which fell into the Hands of the Enemy. After he had ſecured the Merchant-Men, he engaged the *Engliſh* four ſeveral times more, but theſe Actions were of leſs Importance than the foregoing.

Shortly

Shortly after, the King imagining that he had a great many Friends amongst the Commanders of the *English* Fleet, made an Offer to the *States* of putting himself aboard their Fleet, if he might have the Command of the *English* Ships, which should come over to him. But the *States* thought not fit to accept his Offer: It was looked on by them as an Artifice of the King's to engage them in an avowed Declaration in his Favour, which, considering their present Circumstances they had no manner of Inclination to. Peace was their Aim and Interest, and they were not willing to remove the Prospect of it at a Distance, or even render it impossible by espousing the King's Cause. They even found a way to have a Letter privately put into the Hands of *Lenthal* the Speaker, which came from the *States* of *Holland*, to propose an Accommodation. Some say that this was owing to a private Intimation from *Cromwell*, who began to discover that Peace was now wanted to secure his own Interests. He had the Address to obtain from the Parliament a Civil Answer to the Letter put into the Hands of *Lenthal*: But the Answer was directed to the *States General*. This drew from the *States* an open Demand of Peace by a Letter dated the 30th of *April*, in which it was desired that the Parliament would please to name a Place for a Treaty.

1652-3.
The King
offers to
put himself
aboard the
Dutch
Fleet.
1653.
Clarend.
VI. p. 462.
His Offer
rejected.

The States
insist for a
Peace.

Cromwell at last perceived that the Continuation of the War was the Contrivance of his Enemies, as a Means to have the Army disbanded, on Pretence of their being an unnecessary Charge; and the House was well inclined to come into the Project. This tended manifestly to sap the Foundation of his Credit; for though his excellent Qualities were acknowledged; though his Valour and Capacity had raised the Common-wealth to its present Grandour, yet he was still the Object of the Parliament's Fears. Had he been unsupported by the Army, his Ruin had been infallible, so much was his Credit dreaded, lest it should rise from its present envied Greatness still higher,

Designs a-
gainst
Crom-
well;
Clarend.
VI. p. 101.

1653. higher, to the Prejudice of the Common-wealth. *Cromwell* himself had private Information, that a Conspiracy was forming against him, in which were engaged not only many *Presbyterians* and *Royalists*, but even some considerable Members of the House, though of the *Independent* Party. Affairs therefore were in such a Situation, that the Parliament was either to be subdued or himself ruined. Such a Choice holds not ambitious Minds long in suspense. *Cromwell*, much out of Humour to see his Services in a Way to be requited with such Ingratitude, easily determined to risque every thing to make himself Master of the Parliament, rather than become their Slave, who properly speaking owed all their Power to him.

which
bring him
into a Ne-
cessity of
destroying
the Par-
liament.

*Crom-
well's
Measures
to support
his Autho-
rity.*

I have already said that the Parliament was entirely supported by the Army, and by their Means it was that they held the Nation in Subjection. But after the Battles of *Dunbar* and *Worcester*, *Cromwell* had acquired the Esteem and Affections of the Officers and Soldiers to such a Degree, that they no longer supported the Parliament any farther than as their Interests were confounded with those of their General. The leading Members saw this clearly, and therefore had laid the Design of disbanding the Army, to ruin *Cromwell* with greater Ease and Security. But a Project of this Nature was not to be long hid from the searching Eyes of *Cromwell*. As soon as he discovered it, he judged that there was no other way to maintain his own Power, than by withdrawing the Confidence of the Army from the Parliament, and then it would be no difficult Undertaking to accomplish their Ruin. This was the same Method exactly which himself and other *Independents* had practised to ruin the *Presbyterian* Parliament. He therefore by his Artifices effected, that the Officers of the Army in a General-Council drew up a Petition, and presented it to the Parliament, in which they demanded “the Arrears of their Pay, “and more exact Payment of the Army in time to “come,

*Petition of
the Officers
to the Par-
liament.
Clarend.
VI. p. 479.
Baker, p.
617.*

“ come, that they might not be compelled to take
 “ free Quarter upon their fellow Subjects, who al-
 “ ready paid so great Contributions and Taxes,
 “ which they were well assured if well managed
 “ would defray all the Charges of the War and of
 “ the Government.”

The Parliament, as *Cromwell* had foreseen, complained of the Insolence of this Petition, and ordered a Reprimand to the Officers, for their Presumption to intermeddle in Affairs which belonged not to them, and to arraign the Parliament's Management of the Treasury. This drew from the Army a second Petition, which put the House in Mind of some former Professions they had made, “ That they
 “ would be glad to be dissolved, and that there might
 “ be successive Parliaments to undergo the same
 “ Trouble they had done. They therefore desired
 “ them to remember how many Years they had
 “ sate, and though they had done great Things, yet
 “ it was an Injury to the rest of the Nation to be
 “ utterly excluded from bearing any Part in the
 “ Service of their Country, by their ingrossing the
 “ whole Power into their Hands: And thereupon
 “ they besought them that they would settle a
 “ Council of War for the Administration of the
 “ Government during the Interval, and then dissolve themselves, and summon a new Parliament;
 “ which, they told them, would be the most popular Act they could perform.”

They demand its Dissolution.

Clarend. VI. p. 477.

This Remonstrance, intended to exasperate the Parliament, appeared nevertheless very just in itself, and agreeable to the general Sentiments of the Nation. This will be evident, when it is considered in what manner the Members which composed this Parliament had possessed themselves of the Supreme Authority, with what Violence they had treated their Collegues; brought the King to a tragical End; changed the Monarchy into a Common-wealth; and imposed Taxes upon the People to support an unnecessary War, all which had justly rendered them

odious

1653. odious to the whole Kingdom. They were sensible of this themselves : But besides that it was very mortifying to them to divest themselves of an Authority which had so many Charms, they had cause to fear that an Account would be demanded of their past Actions. They were therefore not in the Humour to quit Possession, and yet could not avoid deliberating in a solemn manner upon the Petition, which was of a Nature not to be neglected. In this Debate all the Members, who had Employments in the Army, strenuously supported the Petition. The *Presbyterians* who had been received into the House upon their swearing to the *Engagement*, were of Opinion that the Parliament ought to dissolve themselves, since it was not to be doubted, but that the People in general were for it. But the Plurality of Voices carried it for the contrary Opinion. It was therefore resolved that it was not seasonable to dissolve this Parliament, while such Affairs remained upon their Hands, as were not to be left unfinished, and particularly so important a War depending against *Holland*. That nevertheless the *Speaker* should issue out Writs for filling the vacant Seats in the House. At the same time a Committee was appointed to prepare, with all Hasten, a Bill by which all Persons were forbid to present any more such Petitions under Pain of being declared guilty of High-Treason.

The Parliament votes against a Dissolution.

and prepares an Act to forbid such Petitions.

Cromwell dissolves the Parliament, April 20. Clarend. VI. p. 478. Baker, p. 618. Bare, p. 267.

This was what *Cromwell* expected from the Parliament. A Declaration so express left no Room to doubt but that the Members who had sat more than twelve Years, and had committed so great Abuses in the Exercise of their Power, would always retain the Supreme Authority in their Hands, under Colour of their being the Representatives of a Republick, which, properly speaking, consisted only of themselves. *Cromwell* therefore very certain that this Parliament was odious to the People, and not less disagreeable to the Army, believed that he had no longer any Measures to keep with Men, who were in-
tent

1653.

tent upon his Ruin. After all Things had been concerted with the principal Officers, he came to the House the 20th of *April* with a small Retinue of Officers and Soldiers, and without any Ceremony told the Members that he came to put an End to their Power, of which they had made so ill a Use; and that therefore, without more Deliberation, they were to depart immediately. The Officers and Soldiers entred at the same time, and stayed at the Door till the Members walked out. *Cromwell* as they came by him, called one a Drunkard, another a Robber, with the like severe Invectives against all his Enemies. After this he gave the Speaker's Mace to one of his Officers, and locked the Door*. This Step was extraordinary, but was no more than had been done a few Years before by General *Fairfax*, when he drove out and imprisoned the Members which were disagreeable to the Army.

It cannot yet with Certainty be affirmed, that *Cromwell* by this Proceeding had pulled off the Mask. One might still hope that he had yet good Intentions towards the Publick, since he had only delivered the Nation from a Parliament, which had so long held them in Servitude. And had he after this called a free Parliament, to which he had paid a Submission himself, the People would have heaped Blessings upon him. But the Sequel made it clear, that he was only taking this Pains for himself. And yet if it is considered that the Nation was divided into three

Reflections upon this Action of Cromwell.

* *Whitlock*, who was present, says, *Cromwell* led into the House a File of Miqueleers with him, and in a furious Tone bid the Speaker leave his Chair, and told the House, *They had sate long enough, unless they had done more good, that some of them were Whoremasters, (looking towards Harry Martin and Sir Peter Wentworth) others of them were Drunkards, and some corrupt and unjust Men, and scandalous in the Profession of the Gospel, and that it was not fit they should sit any longer, and desired them to go away.* Whereupon among all the Parliament-Men, of whom many wore Swords, and would sometimes talk big, not one offered to draw against *Cromwell*, but all tamely departed the House. He bid one of his Soldiers take away that Fool's Bauble the Mace. *Whit.* p. 529.

1653. three Parties, each mortally hating the other two; it is not easy to conceive, that a Parliament however free, would have been able to have given Peace and Settlement to the Nation. It was by no Means possible to find Expedients to content three Parties of Interests and Principles so opposite, as well in Point of Government as Religion. Only a Force, by giving a Superiority to one of the three, was capable to hold in Subjection the other two. This doubtless was not forgot by *Cromwell*, and therefore he took the Resolution to model the Government after his own way, and when this was done, support it by Force, without any regard to the chimerical Project of contenting the whole World. He saw that it was necessary there should be a Supreme Authority capable of commanding Obedience, without which all would run into Confusion; that this Authority was to be supported by the Army, and without doubt he believed himself more capable than any Man to manage the Reins of Government. I pretend not here to justify all the Actions of this great Man, whose Ability was never contested; but only to let the Reader see that, in this Conjunction, he could have taken no other Course, without throwing all back into the most terrible Confusion that can be imagined. Since therefore as Matters then stood, *England* was to be governed by Force, was it more inconvenient to see the Nation ruled by the greatest General and Statesman they had for a long while beheld, than by a Parliament, whether *Independent* or *Presbyterian*, or by a King intoxicated with despotick Power? The People had made trial of these three several Governments, and found them insupportable. A fourth therefore was to be tried, as Things were reduced to this Pass, that the other three were neither possible nor proper to be submitted to. This supposed, it is not to be denied, that *Cromwell* was more capable to govern this Great State, than any other Man then living in *England*. No Objection could be raised against him, which might

might not, with more Justice, have been urged against any other Man who should have seized the Government, or any Body of Men invested with the Supreme Power. If on certain Occasions he abused his Authority; if in his Actions he had only a View to his own Glory and Interest, this is what I pretend not to vindicate. It is however certain, that Things have been a good deal aggravated on this Head, and that a wrong Turn has been given to some of his Actions, which with disinterested and unprejudiced Persons, are capable of an easy Vindication. All the Difficulty in this Affair lies in the Supposition made by each of the three Parties, that their Scheme of Government was the best and most perfect. But as *Cromwell* chose none of these Schemes, therefore the three Parties were all equally incensed against him. The *Independents*, fond of their Democrattick Scheme, which at last is only an empty Name, were enraged at him for having overturned a Building which he himself had erected. The *Presbyterians* could have wished he would have put the Parliament again upon the Foot that it stood in the Beginning of the Year 1648, when themselves were Masters; and therefore he was not to be forgiven by them for having rejected a Form of Government, in their Opinion, the most natural. The *Cavaliers* or *Royalists* were dissatisfied that *Cromwell* had dissolved the *Independent*, without restoring the *Presbyterian* Parliament. And to satisfy them, he must have restored the King to his Throne, and the Church of *England* to all her Rights. It is left to the Reader's Judgement, if in the present Situation of Affairs in *England*, the Three Parties desired any Thing either just, proper or practicable. It is no wonder therefore, if the Three Parties *England* was then divided into, were equally displeased with *Cromwell's* Proceedings, and equally loaded him with Accusations and Invectives.

*Cromwell
justifies his
Conduct in
a Declaration.
Clarend.
VI. p 479.*

A little after *Cromwell* published a Declaration to justify the Dissolution of the Parliament, and as his

1653. Designs were not yet manifested, this Declaration was signed by the Colonels of the Army, and all the Sea-Captains, and met with general Approbation.

Makes
Choice of
144 Per-
sons to take
Care of the
Govern-
ment.
Bate,
p 269.

The Parliament being thus dissolved, the Sovereign Power was of Necessity to be lodged in some Hand or other. *Cromwell* might have taken the Administration of the Government upon himself, by the same Authority that he had dismissed the Parliament. But he had no Design to turn Usurper in a manner so notorious. He had formed a Scheme that the Parliament should as it were put the Government into his Hands, in order to dazzle the Eyes of the Publick with so venerable an Authority. The Council of Officers, who had presented the Petition to the Parliament still continued sitting, and *Cromwell* brought them to a Resolution, that a Hundred Forty-four Persons should be intrusted with the Supreme Power. In the Choice of these Persons *Cromwell* at once displayed his Abilities, and discovered that he had some Design, which, concealed as it then was, would at a proper Season shew itself. They were all Persons low and obscure in Birth, with no particular Merit, no Experience in Affairs, and in short, utterly incapable of an Employ of this Consequence. *Cromwell* easily foresaw that they would soon grow tired, and find themselves obliged to put the Government into his Hands, and so furnish him with a Pretence to assume it to himself. This fine Choice being made, he wrote to each particular Member, to require his Presence at *Whitehall* the 4th of July, to take into their Hands the Administration of the Government *.

The

* After a short Preamble the Letter ran thus :
 " I *Oliver Cromwell*, Captain-General and Commander in Chief
 " of all the Armies and Forces raised, or to be raised within
 " Common-wealth, do hereby summon and require you (being
 " one of the Persons nominated) personally to appear at
 " Council-Chamber at *Whitehall*, within the City of *Westminster*,
 " upon the 4th of July next ensuing the Date hereof, then
 " to be taken into your Hands the Administration of the Govern-
 " ment."

These new Sovereigns being met on the Day appointed, *Cromwell* opened the Assembly with a Speech, and when it was ended gave them an Instrument, signed by himself and the principal Officers of the Army, by Virtue whereof the Supreme Power was lodged in their Hands. This Instrument imported, that all these Members, or any Forty of them, were to be held and acknowledged the Supreme Authority of the Nation, to which all Persons within the same, and the Territories thereunto belonging, were to yield Obedience and Subjection to the 3d Day of the Month of *November*, which should be in the Year 1654, that is to say, during one Year and four Months; that three Months before the time prescribed should expire, they were to make Choice of other Persons to succeed them, whose Power and Authority should not exceed one Year, and then they were likewise to provide and take Care for a like Succession in the Government. But it will be immediately seen that *Cromwell* had no Intention to have his Regulation exactly observed. These Members, thus impowered, made no Scruple to call themselves a Parliament, and made Choice of one *Rouse* * for their Speaker. The whole Nation was amazed to find themselves under the Dominion of Men, who were most of them mean Attificers, or retail Merchants *. Amongst these Members was one *Barebone* a Leather-Seller, who in his Neighbourhood went for a notable Speaker, from his enter-

1653.
*Delegates
the Go-
vernment
to them by
an Instru-
ment.*
Clarend.
VI. p. 214.
Baker.
p. 619.

*They as-
sume the
Name of a
Parlia-
ment.*

“there to take upon you the Trust unto which you are hereby
“called and appointed, to serve as a Member of the County of—
“and hereby you are not to fail”.

O. Cromwell.

Given under my Hand and Seal

the 8th Day of *June*, 1653. *Whit. Mem. p. 532.*

* An old Gentleman of *Devon*, Provost of *Eaton*.

* It was much wondered by some that these Gentlemen, many of them being Persons of Fortune and Knowledge, would at this Summons, and from these Hands, take upon them the Supreme Authority of this Nation, considering how little Authority *Cromwell* and his Officers had to give it, or these Gentlemen to take it; but it was accepted by them. *Whit. Mem. p. 534.*

1653. taining them with long Harangues upon the Subject of the Times. From this Man the People, in Derision, called this *Barebone's Parliament* *. I shall take leave of this ridiculous Assembly for a Moment, which did nothing worth remembring, to resume the Recital of the War and other Affairs between *England* and the *United Provinces*.

A Letter writ by the *States-General* to the Parliament the 20th of *April*, the Day on which the Parliament was dissolved, was referred to the Council of State, established by *Cromwell* and his Officers, till the new Parliament could assemble. This Council, under the Direction of *Cromwell*, gave a favourable Answer to the *States*, and Hopes of a Peace upon sending Plenipotentiaries to *London*.

The *States* appoint Ambassadors to negotiate a Peace. The *English* Affairs were then in a State of Uncertainty, of which it was difficult to guess what would be the Issue. *Cromwell* had, by his sole Authority, dissolved the Parliament, and named a Council of State to govern the Kingdom, with no other Right than that derived from the Army-Officers. It was therefore not very proper for the *States* either to treat of, or conclude a Peace with Men so meanly impowered. But the Provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand*, the greatest Sufferers by the War, were resolved to have a Peace at any rate. At last, after great Contests and Struggles, the *States-General* named four Ambassadors to go and negotiate a Peace at *London*.

A Fight between the two Fleets the 2d of June. Trump beaten. While their Instructions were preparing, the Fleets of the contending Nations met the 2d of *June*, and came to an Engagement, which was renewed the next Day. In this last Engagement *Trump* fighting with great Disadvantage, was under a Necessity of retiring in Disorder, after he had lost many Ships either sunk or taken by the Enemies *.1.

After

* His Name was *Praise God Barebone*, from whom, he being great Speaker in it, the Parliament was called as above.

*.1 The *English* Fleet was at first commanded jointly by *Blake*, *Monk*, and *Dean*. *Dean* was killed, and in the Engagement which followed, *Monk* commanded alone.

After this Engagement, the *English* Fleet being reinforced to the Number of a Hundred Ships, saw itself some time Mistress of the Sea, and gave frequent Alarms to the Coasts of *Holland*. At last, *Trump* having repaired his Fleet as much as the Time would allow, came out to engage the *English* once more near the *Texel*, though he was much inferior both in the Number and Largeness of his Ships. The Fight continued from Morning till Night without any considerable Advantage to either Side. It was renewed the next Day with the same Fury, *Trump* being reinforced with Twenty-seven Ships; nor did this second Day decide the Victory. The third Day opened with a fresh Engagement, in which *Trump* was killed by a Musket-Ball. But Vice-Admiral *De Witzen* was not discouraged from continuing the Fight, till the two Fleets, as if by consent, stood away to their own Coasts, unable to fight any longer. The Loss on both Sides was very considerable, and neither of them had any good Reason to boast of the Victory; but the Loss of the *Admiral* was irreparable to *Holland* *.

1653.
Another
Fight
which con-
tinued 3
Days, the
first the
8th of Au-
gust.

Trump
killed.
The two
Fleets re-
tire.

Cromwell took care to repair the *English* Fleet, in hopes of receiving some Advantage from the Consternation which the Death of *Trump*, the Loss of so many Ships, and the Division then reigning amongst the *United Provinces*, had thrown them into; but a violent Tempest damaged his Fleet so, that he saw

The Eng-
lish put to
Sea again.

Their Fleet
damaged
by a
Storm.

* This War ought not to be dismissed without one Remark, viz. That both Nations challenged the Victory in almost every Engagement. The *Dutch* Writers, from whom *Rapin* chiefly copies, leave the *English* very little Share of Success, except where the *Dutch* are far inferior in Number, or Tempests interpose to prevent the coming of their Ships to join the great Fleet. The *English* pretend the quite contrary, and make their own Successes so considerable, that the Common-wealth of *Holland* seems to be upon the Point of its Ruin. It is however worth remarking, that the *Dutch* first sued for Peace, and the Terms on which they received it were so hard, that if their Successes were such as their Historians have represented, no Nation was ever less gladdened with Triumphs, or less deserved such ungenerous Usage.

1653.
Peace ne-
gotiated
at Lon-
don.

himself under a Necessity of either coming to a Peace, or loading the People with new Taxes, which, in his present Situation, was altogether improper; he listened therefore to the Propositions made by the *States*, and the whole following Winter was spent in this Negotiation.

*The Par-
liament re-
turns the
Sovereign
Power into
the Hands
of the Of-
ficers.*
Clarend.
VI. p. 484.
Baker,
p. 620.

Barebone's Parliament had done nothing considerable in a Session of more than five Months. Nor was it called together with any such Intention. At last, the 22d of *December*, the Speaker, and a good Body of the Members, who had been let into the Secret of *Cromwell's* Intentions, being assembled sooner than usual, one of them rose up and said, That Men of their Abilities were unequal to the Weight laid upon them. He therefore proposed to them a Dissolution of themselves, and a Re-delivering of the Sovereign Authority into the Hands from which it was received. This Proposal met with a ready and unanimous Approbation. Then the Speaker and all the present Members, without waiting for those who were yet absent, left their Seats, and went directly to *Cromwell* and the Council of Officers; To whom they declared, That finding themselves incapable of the Trust reposed in them, they came to deliver back the Instrument they had received, and to pray them to take the Government into their own Hands. Thus *Cromwell* and his Council of Officers saw themselves invested with the Supreme Power, by that Parliament on which themselves had conferred its pretended Authority. It is manifest that this had been resolved from the Moment that the Parliament had been convened, in order to derive a Parliamentary Authority to those Persons, who had by their own Power dissolved the preceeding Parliament. This Cheat was so gross, that *Cromwell's* Hope of imposing upon the People by it is amazing. But an Absurdity is swallowed, when it is forced down to uncontrolled Power.

*The Coun-
cil of Offi-
cers invests
Cromwell
with the
Dignity of
Protector.*
Clarend.
VI. p. 484.

Two Days after the Council of Officers, by Virtue of the Power conferred on them by the preceeding Parliament,

Parliament, declared that for the future the Government of the Republick should reside in one single Person; namely, That of *Oliver Cromwell*, General of the Forces of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*; who should have the Title of *Protector* of the Three Kingdoms, and be assisted by a Council of Twenty-one Persons.

1653.

The 16th of *December* the Council of Officers called before them the Commissioners of the Great-Seal, with the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, and after they had informed them that *Cromwell* was made *Protector*, he caused to be read in their Presence a Writing called the *Instrument of Government*, which contained in Substance, I. A Parliament to be called every Three Years by the *Protector*. II. The first to assemble on the 3d of *September* 1654. III. No Parliament to be dissolved till it have sate five Months. IV. Such *Bills* as are offered to the *Protector* by the Parliament, if he assent not in Twenty Days, to be Laws without him. V. That his Council should not exceed the Number of One and Twenty, nor be less than Thirteen*. VI. That immediately after the Death of *Cromwell*, the Council should chuse another *Protector* before they rise. VII. That no *Protector* after the present shall be General of the Army. VIII. The *Protector* shall have Power to make War and Peace: IX. That in the Interval of Parliaments the *Protector* and his Council may make some Laws which shall be binding to the Subject, till the succeeding Parliament. After this Act was read, *Cromwell* took an Oath to observe it to the utmost of his Power. He was then conducted to *Whitehall* in great State, *Lambert* carrying the Sword before him, and

Instrument of Government.
Baker, p. 620.
Bate, p. 272.
Whitlock, p. 552.

Cromwell takes an Oath to observe it.

* The first Council chosen in pursuance of this Instrument were, Colonel *Montague*, Colonel *Lambert*, Viscount *Lisle*, Colonel *Desborough*, Gilbert *Pickering*, Anthony *Aspley* Cowper, Charles *Woolsey*, Barons; Major-General *Skippon*, Walter *Strickland*, Colonel *Sydenham*, Colonel *Jones*, Francis *Rouse*, John *Lawrence*, Richard *Major*. The Reader may see the *Instrument of Government* at large in *Whitlock's Mem.* p. 552.

1653. from that Time he assumed the Title of *Higness* and
Assumes the Title of Lord Protector. Immediately after he was proclaimed
Higness. as such at *London*, then in the Three Kingdoms, which
Invited by the City to an Entertainment. formed only one State. The City of *London* invited him to a magnificent Entertainment, and paid him the same Honours which had been customary for Kings to receive on the same Occasions.

Reflections upon Cromwell's Advancement. Thus *Cromwell*, whose Birth seemed to have placed him at an infinite Distance from it, found a Way to Sovereign Power. When we reflect on the Proceedings of the long *Parliament* against the late King, the Methods they used to effect his Ruin, their obstinate Refusal of Peace on any other Conditions than that of abolishing the established Church, and reducing the Regal Power to almost nothing, the politick Conduct of the *Independents* in concealing themselves amongst the *Presbyterians*, not shewing their Designs till the King was no longer in a Capacity to hurt either, their Artifices to bring over the Army to their Interest, their Tyranny against the *Presbyterians* and the King himself; and when to these Considerations is added, that *Cromwell* in the properest Season put himself at the Head of this Party, one is inclined to believe that the Project of his Elevation was formed from the Beginning of the long *Parliament*, and that every Thing since acted, was only the Consequence of that Design. Accordingly this is the Insinuation and Reasoning of those, who will have it that the Persecution raised against *Charles I.* was begun and carried on only to facilitate this Project. But when on the other Hand we consider, that it was almost impossible for *Cromwell* to have any such Views, at a time when he had but little Credit, and was hardly yet known in the *Parliament*; that his Reputation only rose by a Succession of contingent Events altogether independent of him; by Battles gained which he might have lost, it is difficult to bring ourselves to a Belief that he could have formed any such Design before his Victory at *Worcester*. It is indeed evident, that even before this Battle he had Views

Views of rising, but carried them not so high as to the Supreme Power. Such Views, if he had entertained them, would not have been hid from so many able Men of his own Party. But as it never entered into their Heads to attempt his Ruin till after this Victory, it is very likely that his Designs were not perceived before, and that it was from this Time, and perhaps even not so soon, that he began to lay the Foundation of his grand Project: For being then General, he had less Work to go through, than if he had formed the Design while he only bore the Title of *Lieutenant-General* *.

* *Cromwell* said to Mr. *Belliere*: *L'on ne montoit jamais si haut, que quand on ne scait où l'on va.* That is, a Man never rises so high as when he knows not where he is going. *Retz*. T. III. p. 385.

The following Particulars, not taken Notice of by Rapin, are to be found in Whitlock's Memoirs.

Upon the Lord *Goring's* being reprieved, and the Earl of *Holland* not, both by the Speaker's single Vote, *Whitlock* observes, This may be a Caution against the Affectation of Popularity, when the Earl of *Holland*, who was as full of Generosity to all sorts of Persons, and Readiness to help the Oppressed, and to stand by the Rights of the People, as any Person of his Quality in the Nation, was given up by the Representatives of the People; and the Lord *Goring*, who never made Profession of being a Friend to Liberty, either *Civil* or *Spiritual*, and exceeding the Earl as much in his Crimes as he came short of him in his Popularity, was spared by the People, p. 376.

Upon Information that the *Turkish Alcoran* was printing in English, it was ordered *March* the 10th 1648, to be suppressed, p. 380.

April 16, 1649. Upon the Death of Sir *Francis Pile* a Writ issued out for a new Election, and the Earl of *Pembroke*, with all his Titles, was returned for *Knight of the Shire* for *Berks*, *prima Impresonis*, and his Lordship was accordingly admitted into the House with great Respect, p. 383. 1649.

April 15th, The Forms of the Coins were agreed on; on one Side the *Arms of England*, with a Laurel and Palm on each Side, and about it this Inscription, *The Common wealth of England*. On the other Side the *Arms of England and Ireland*, with this Inscription, *God with us*, p. 384.

May 8th, The Queen of *Bohemia's* Pension of 12000 *l.* suspended, p. 386.

June

1650.

June 7. At an Entertainment in the City, the Earl of Pembroke, refused to sit above *Whitlock*, being the Senior Commissioner of the Great-Seal, saying, *As much Honour belongs to that Place under a Common-wealth as under a King*, p. 391.

The English Merchants were commanded by the Great Duke to depart his Dominions, and not come thither unless in the King's Name, and by his Patents; and this was fomented by the Dutch, p. 411.

Five Drunkards in *Berkshire* agreed to drink the King's Health in their Blood, and that each should cut off a Piece of his Buttock and fry 'it, which Four of them did; but the Wife of the Fifth coming into the Room, and taking up a Pair of Tongs, laid about her so, that she saved the cutting her Husband's Flesh, p. 435.

May 14. The Act for suppressing Incest, Adultery, and Fornication being passed; *Henry Martin* declared his Opinion, *That the Severity of the Punishment being Death, would cause these Sins to be more cautiously committed, and so being undiscovered, would be the more frequent*, p. 440.

July 20. Letters from the General advise, that the Scotch Ministers in their Prayers say, *That if God will not deliver them from Seditaries, he shall not be their God*, p. 449.

August 26. In a Skirmish with the Scots, one of the Enemy fired a Carbine at *Cromwell*; upon which *Cromwell* called to him and said, *If he had been one of his Soldiers, he would have cashiered him for firing at such a Distance*, p. 453.

King Charles II. made a Speech January 25, in the Parliament at St. Johnstown, expressing much Joy that he was the First Covenanted King of the Nation, p. 462.





T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
I N T E R R E G N U M.

B O O K XXII. P A R T II.

OLIVER CROMWELL, PROTECTOR.



THE Peace between *England* and the *United-Provinces* was at last concluded, and the Treaty signed the 5th of *April* 1654. By this Treaty *Cromwell* made good Advantage of the Necessity which the *States* were under to make Peace. 1654. Peace concluded between *England* and the *United-Provinces*.

They could not obtain it without obliging themselves to pay large Sums for the Damages done to the *English* thirty Years before *. They consented

* To deliver up the Island of *Polevone* in the *East-Indies*, taken from the *English* in the Reign of King *James*, and to pay, 'tis said, Three Hundred Thousand Pounds for the Affair of *Ambogna*, for which the two last Kings could never get any Satisfaction. The Ratifications of the Peace were presented in a Silver Box to the *Proflor. Whit.* p. 57.

1654.

to the striking of the Flag, as had before been done to the Ships of the Kings of *England*. They entirely abandoned the Interest of *Charles II*, and obliged themselves to receive no banished Person from *England* into their Dominions. They engaged themselves either to restore to the *English* the Twenty-two Merchant-Ships confiscated by the King of *Denmark*, or to make Satisfaction to the full Value of them. In this Treaty I find no Mention made of the *Navigation-Act*, which had been the pretended Cause of this War. It is likely that this Affair was either adjusted in a private and particular Treaty, or that the *States* were contented with a bare Promise that no Molestation should be offered them on pretence of this Act. Lastly, by a separate Article the *States* bound themselves to exclude for ever the Prince of *Orange* from the Posts and Employes which his Ancestors had held *. But this Article was ratified only by the Province of *Holland*, the other Provinces refusing their Consent to it, and *Cromwell* not judging it proper to continue the War to force their Compliance. Such was the Conclusion of this War, which had been very warm on both Sides, and brought inexpressible Damage to both Nations. It is said that the two Provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand* lost in it fifteen Hundred Ships, which fell into the Hands of the *English*. And this very War, which had been undertaken to ruin *Cromwell*, served to raise him, as it brought him under a Necessity of dissolving the Parliament to prevent his own Destruction.

*Cromwell
draws a
great ma-
ny Ene-
mies upon
himself.*

Although the new *Protector* received a general Submission, it was nevertheless with Complaints sufficiently open that he had usurped the Supreme Power by a pretended Title conferred on him by Men without Authority. The *Royalists* looked upon his Elevation as a mortal Wound to the King's Affairs. The *Presbyterians* were not at all more easie; for though their Government in the Church still sub-

sisted,

* Namely, *State-holder, General, or Admiral.*

sted, yet it was with the utmost Difficulty that they were brought to bear the Toleration enjoyed by all the other Sects of *Protestants*. Besides, they were shut out from the best Employments, which it was *Cromwell's* Care to fill with Men of approved Fidelity to himself. The *Presbyterians* were nevertheless caressed by him, because their Assistance was needful to accomplish his great Design of confirming himself in his Dignity by a free Parliament, where he foresaw they would have a considerable Influence. But he hated the *Cavaliers*, and held them in the lowest Subjection. This was the Cause that a great many Conspiracies were formed against him, and the Authors rigorously punished*, particularly Mr. *Voswell* and Mr. *Gerard*†, the former hanged in *London*, and the latter beheaded in the *Tower*.

1654.

At the same Time, and upon the same Scaffold on which *Gerard* had died, *Don Pantaleon Sa*, Knight of *Malta*, and Brother to the *Portuguese* Ambassador, lost his Head. That Gentleman having picked a Quarrel with the same Mr. *Gerard* on the *New-Exchange*, returned the next Day with a strong Retinue. Unhappily he singled out a Man in the Crowd whom he mistook for *Gerard*, and upon a Quarrel which himself began, killed him, and others were wounded by his Servants; after which he retired to the House of his Brother the Ambassador. This Tumult drew the People together, who surrounded the Ambassador's House, and threatened to drag out the Criminals to Justice. *Cromwell* being informed of the Matter, dispatched an Officer with some Soldiers to demand the Murderers. The Ambassador made great Complaints of the Insults offered him,

Conspiracies against him, and the Authors severely punished.
Clarend. VI. p. 491.
Baker, p. 621.
The Brother of the Ambassador from Portugal beheaded.
July 10.
Clarend. VI. p. 493.
Bate, p. 282.

* There was a High Court of Justice erected on purpose, "to try such as were accused of holding a Correspondence with *Charles Stuart*, and of having a Design against the Life of the Protector, &c."

† The Author calls him Colonel. but he was a young Gentleman, and had been only Ensign in the King's Army. Clarend. VI. p. 491.

1654.

and demanded an Audience of the *Protector*, but was refused, and told, that if the Criminals were not delivered up, the People would not be appeased, and could the *Protector* answer for the Consequences. That as a Man had been killed, and several wounded, Justice must have its Course. In the mean time the People continued their Noise and Menaces; so that the Ambassador, seeing himself too weak to resist, was at last forced to deliver up his Brother with the Servants who had accompanied him, in hopes afterwards to obtain their Pardon. But Cromwell continuing inflexible, the Portuguese Gentleman was beheaded in the Tower, and his Accomplices hanged at Tyburn. I pretend not to decide whether this Act of Justice could be done without a Violation of the Rights of Ambassadors, or whether Cromwell had not done better in conniving at the Prisoner's Escape. I shall only content my self with shewing a few Words that the present Conjuncture was not all favourable either to the Ambassador, or the King his Master.

Occasion of
the Ambassa-
dary from
Portugal.

Don John IV, King of Portugal, and before *Don* of Braganza, had in the Year 1640 possessed himself of the Crown of Portugal, on pretence of having been unjustly wrested from his Ancestors, *Philip II*, King of Spain. This had engaged him in a War with Spain, during which *Charles I*, had in Treaty signed at York, owned the Validity of the Prince's Title to the Crown of Portugal. Thus the two Crowns of England and Portugal were engaged in an Alliance before the War between *Charles* and the Parliament was declared: Upon this Foundation the two Princes *Palatine*, *Rupert* and *Maurice*, first of which commanded the King's Navy, being obliged in the Year 1650 to leave the Coasts of Portugal, where they could no longer continue in Safety, sailed into the River of Lisbon. They were no sooner come there, than a Fleet from the Parliament arrived in the Mouth of the Tagus, and immediately the Admiral demanded of the King of Portugal the

Bate,
p. 196.

liv

livery of the Ships commanded by Prince *Rupert*, saying that they belonged to the Common-wealth of *England*. This Demand extremely embarrassed the King. He had made an Alliance with the King of *England*; but, on the other Hand, *England* was then the declared Enemy of that King, and *Don John* in this Conjunction was under a Necessity of declaring either for one or the other. Reasons of State required of him a Declaration for the Parliament, but Honour and Hospitality as strongly pleaded for a Protection of the Ships of a Confederate King which were come for Refuge to *Portugal*. This Question was strongly debated in his Council. The greatest Part of the Members advised him to give up the Interests of a King drove from his Kingdoms, and in no Condition to do any Thing either to his Prejudice or Advantage, and by this Step to gain the Friendship of a powerful Common-wealth, from which he might expect great Assistance against *Spain*: Whereas in declaring against the Parliament, he would perhaps engage himself in fresh Difficulties, at a Time when all his Forces were but just sufficient to repel the Attacks of *Spain*. But the King, by his Reasons and Authority, brought the Council to a Resolution of protecting the King of *England's* Ships: Pursuant to this Resolution a Squadron was immediately equipped of thirteen Men of War, to join Prince *Rupert's* Fleet. The two Squadrons sailed together with Design to fight the *English*, if they were found between the two Capes *. For the *Portuguese* Squadron had Orders to sail no farther, that the King's Intention might appear to be no other than securing the Entrance into the *Tagus*. Upon the Advice which the *English* Admiral received of this Junction, he made off into the Main. But to revenge himself for the Protection granted to Prince *Rupert's* Fleet, he fell upon that of *Portugal* returning from *Brazill*, and took fifteen Ships. The approach of Winter obliging him

* Cape *Finisterre* and Cape *St. Vincent*.

1654. to return to *England*, the two Princes *Palatine* got clear and sailed to *America*, after they had given Occasion to a sort of Rupture between *England* and *Portugal*. To make up this Difference it was that the King of *Portugal* had dispatched to *London* the *Candè de Penaguaio*, the Situation of his Affairs from a War with *Spain* which had continued thirteen Years, not suffering him to remain in a State of Hostility with the Common-wealth of *England*. It was very probable for this same Reason that he declined recalling his Ambassador after the Execution of *Don Pantaleon Sa* : And perhaps this Accident retarded the Peace between *England* and *Portugal*, which was not signed till two Years afterwards in 1656.

The King's
Condition
in France.
Clarend.
VI. p. 416.

When *Charles II*, arrived in *France*, after his miraculous Escape from the Battle of *Worcester*, he lived in the greatest Indigence, not having wherewithal to support himself. The Court of *France* was perfectly unconcerned at his Necessities, whether desirous to keep fair with *Cromwell*, or in view of a strict Alliance with him, or through dread of his declaring in Favour of *Spain*. However that be, the King's Condition was deplorable. He had even the Mortification to see *Monsieur de Bourdeaux*, who till then had been his Resident in *England*, appointed Ambassador by the *French* Court, upon *Cromwell's* being declared *Protector*. This Alteration convinced the King that *France* was hastening into an Alliance with *Cromwell*, and that this Treaty would be followed with a Request to him to depart the Kingdom. This put him upon preventing this Compliment, by letting Cardinal *Mazarin* know that he intended to withdraw ; which was welcome News to the Cardinal. To facilitate the Execution of his Design, the Cardinal promised him the Arrears of a Pension of a Thousand *Livres* a Month, which had been granted, but never exactly paid, and the Continuance of the same, as long as he should be out of *France*. At the same time the King received another small Reliance, which enabled him to discharge his Debts.

Rup t

Rupert arrived safely at *Nantes* with the Fleet, after he had lost his Brother *Maurice* in a Storm. Besides that the Ships were extremely damaged, and the King in no Condition to repair them, he was in great want of Money, which determined him to sell the Ships with all their Tackling. Cardinal *Mazarine* was the Purchaser, though after a very sordid manner, if we may believe the Lord *Clarendon*; but however he paid him the Money without delay. After that, Prince *Rupert* repaired to *Paris*, and taking Leave of the King, withdrew into *Germany*. The King, after he had received the Money, left *Paris*, and made choice of *Cologne* for the Place of his Retreat, where he continued many Years.

1654.
Prince *Rupert* arrives in France.
The King sells the Ships he brought.
The Prince withdraws into Germany, and the King retires to Cologne.
Clarend.
VI. p. 522.
Ibid. 512.

The King before he left *France* sent *Wilmot*, now made Earl of *Rocheſter*, his Envoy to the Emperour, and some other Princes of *Germany*, to procure some Assistance in Money. He even applied to the *Pope* by the Mediation of *Cardinal de Retz*, and it is pretended, that to make this Negotiation succeed, the Cardinal prevailed with him to change his Religion, and privately received his Abjuration. At least, Dr. *Burnet* in the History of his own Times assures us, that the King embraced the Catholick Religion before he quitted *France*, where he returned no more after the Time I am speaking of. But others, upon better Information they think, assign this Change to the Year 1659.

Baker. p. 621.

p. 74.

While the King was overwhelmed with Adversity, *Cromwell* was honoured, respected, and feared by all the Powers of *Europe*, being equally courted by all. In *England* his Enemies durst not look up; *Scotland* was entirely subdued, and *Ireland* reduced to the last Extremity. But before we return to the Affairs of *England*, it will be necessary briefly to relate what passed in *Ireland* and *Scotland* to the Middle of the Year 1654.

Affairs of Ireland.
Clarend.
VI. p. 429.
Bate. p. 173.

After *Cromwell's* Departure out of *Ireland* in the Year 1650, *Ireton*, his Son-in-Law, who commanded there as his Deputy, treated the *Irish* Rebels, who

1654 fell into his Hands, with great Severity, the Parliament having ordered no Mercy to be shewn to any one. But this was not capable to bring the *Irish* to an Union with the Marquess of *Ormond*. On the contrary, a Zeal for their Religion by the Influence and Perswasion of their Monks and Clergy, made them irreconcilable to all Thoughts of Submission to a *Protestant* Commander. This carried them even to Conspiracies against the Life of the Marquess, and in an Insurrection at *Limerick*, excited by a Monk, he was very near being killed. At last the *Irish* Popish Bishops in a full Assembly published a Declaration, with a Protest, that they would have no manner of Communion with Hereticks, nor pay any Obedience to the Marquess of *Ormond*. In Consequence of this, they required him to resign his Command into the Hands of a Catholick, on whom they could better rely. The Marquess thus exposed to the Suspicions and treacherous Designs of the *Irish*, and utterly incapable to restore the King's Affairs in that Kingdom, left the Marquess of *Clenrickard* Lieutenant, and retired into *France*, from whence he accompanied the King to *Cologne*.

The Mar-
quess of
Ormond
leaves Ire-
land.

Ireton's
Death.

Ireton being taken off by the Plague in 1651, the Parliament put their Forces in *Ireland* under the Command of Lieutenant-General *Edmond Ludlow*, a great Republican, and one of *Charles* the First's Judges.

The Duke
of Lorrain
invited by
the Irish to
accept
their Go-
vernment.
Clarend.
VI. p. 430,
470.

The *Irish* were not more obedient to the Marquess of *Clenrickard* than they had been to the Marquess of *Ormond*. The Catholick Clergy, and the whole Province of *Ulster*, refused all Dealings with the *English* under the Command of the Marquess, though he was a Catholick. It was sufficient that he had received his Commission from a *Protestant*, to render him odious. A certain Number of Men were therefore chosen to form a Council for the Administration of their Affairs. This Council judged it expedient to call unto their Assistance a Foreign Catholick Prince, who might be capable to head the

and put him in Possession of the Government of their *Isle*. 1654.

They cast their Eyes upon the Duke of *Lorrain* Bate, p. who was then at *Brussels*, - and resolved to send De- 175. puties to treat with him. This Resolution being taken, the Marquess of *Clenrickard* was applied to for a Commission to the Deputies, from an Apprehension that they could meet with no good Reception if not authorized by the King's Governour in *Ireland*. But the Marquess did not care to grant any such Commission, till he knew the King's Pleasure. This Refusal heightened the Animosities already conceived against him. He was exclaimed against by them to the greatest degree, and their Deputies were sent notwithstanding all his Oppositions *. The Duke of *Lorrain* judged it not proper to engage himself in the Undertaking, without better Information in some Particulars which it concerned him to know. He dispatched a certain Abbot into *Ireland*, who having learned that the *Irish* Affairs were almost desperate, and the Negotiation undertaken without the Consent of the King's Lieutenant, refused to come to any Treaty with them. The *Irish* enraged with the Mar- *Rejects the* quess of *Clenrickard* for opposing their Design, perse- *Offer.* cuted him several Ways, and at last, treated with *Ludlow* by the Means of a certain Monk, without any Notice taken of the Marquess, who seeing himself incapable to do any Thing for the King's Service, informed him of what was done, and desired Leave to retire. The King easily granted his Request, as seeing no likely Means to save *Ireland*, and left the *Irish* to their own Measures, whose Affairs from this Time grew daily more hopeless.

The Lord *Clarendon* says, after he had been inveighed against with a great Virulency, he could not withstand the Importunity of the Assembly of confederate Catholics, but gave his Credentials to the Person recommended to him. However, the Commissioners were resolved to follow the Instructions of the Assembly, and not the Marquess's. *Clarend.* VI. p. 469, 470.

1655.
Bate, p.
182.

It was then, and in the following Years, that the *Irish* wholly unable to resist the Parliament Forces, saw themselves exposed to the utmost Severity of the *English* Commanders. The Cruelties and Barbarities which they had exercised upon the *English* Protestants settled in *Ireland* were justly retaliated upon them. Many were delivered into the Hands of the Executioner, and others, to the Number of above a Hundred Thousand, had the Liberty to go into the Service of Foreign Princes, but perished most of them by Famine and other Miseries. The Families which were permitted to stay in their own Country were, for the most Part, transported into the Province of *Connaught*, where some small Tracts of Land were assigned to them for their Subsistence, while the Rest of the Kingdom was delivered to the *Adventurers*, who had advanced Money for the *Irish* War. Part also of these confiscated Estates was given to the Officers in payment of their Arrears, and Part was sold to the best Bidders. From this Time the Nation has been kept so low, that there is no Appearance of its ever recovering. In 1654, *Fleetwood*, who had married *Ireton's* Widow, Daughter to *Cromwell*, had the Government of this *Isle*; and two Years after *Henry Cromwell*, younger Son of the *Protector*, was nominated to succeed him.

Affairs of
Scotland.
Clarend.
VI.
Baker, p.
628.
Bate, p.
262.

Although *Scotland* was subdued, yet it was not entirely free from Disturbances. The General-Assemblies of the Kirk had been suppressed by *Cromwell*, who looked upon them as the Sources from whence flowed all the Troubles which had so many Years infested *Scotland*. And as it was his Intention to introduce in that Kingdom a Liberty of Conscience as well as in *England*, he well knew that it would be impossible to execute his Design while these Assemblies subsisted. The People of *Scotland* were mad at seeing a Liberty so contrary to their *Covenant*, and the Maxims of their Kirk. They sufficiently discovered their Thoughts of this Matter; but all their Zeal was without Effect, it was unassisted either by
Places,

Places, Forces, Arms, or Leaders to deliver them from the Yoke of the *English*. On the other Hand, some Lords and Gentlemen of the King's Party still kept in the *Higb-lands* with some Troops under the Command of the Earl of *Glencarn*. But these Troops, neither well armed nor disciplined, were defeated by Colonel *Morgan*. Nevertheless, with the broken Remains of their Troops they still stood upon the Defensive in some inaccessible Places, where it was impossible to attack them. But at last Discord arising among them, they saw themselves under the Necessity of sending to the King for Colonel *Middleton*, and obtained his Consent. On the Arrival of *Middleton*, *Glencarn* quitted and made his own Peace. *Middleton* kept up the Remains of this Party about a Year longer, and then was obliged to forsake it, being sensible it was out of his Power to do any great Service for the King in that Country. It is Time now to return to the Affairs of *England*.

The *Instrument* of Government running that a Parliament was to assemble the 3d of *September*, *Cromwell* called one on that Day. But in his Writs for the Election of Members, there was an exprefs Prohibition against electing any Persons, or their Sons, who had born Arms for the King; and this was punctually obeyed. A new Regulation was likewise made to proportion the Number of *Representatives* to the Largeness of the Cities and Counties, and to assign to each its Share to the Expences of the Government. This Regulation, as just in itself, met with a general Approbation *.

Cromwel
calls a
Parlia-
ment.
Baker, p.
623.
Clarend.
VI. p. 237.

* By the 9th and 10th Articles of the *Instrument of Government* (which see in *Whit. Mem.* p. 552.) it was provided, That the Persons to be chosen in *England* and *Wales* should not exceed Fifty Hundred. Those for *Scotland* and *Ireland* (for the Three Kingdoms were united in one Common-wealth) were to be Thirty for each Kingdom. Then the Persons to be chosen in *England* and *Wales* were to be in a certain Proportion there set down at large. A Proportion, which it would have been well for *England*, had it been always kept to, the little insignificant Boroughs being omitted and the Number of the Knights of the Shire increased from Five to Twelve, according to the Extent of the County.

1654.
His Speech
to it,
3d Sep-
tember.

The Parliament being assembled, *Cromwell* opened the Session with a Speech in the *Painted-Chamber*, where the House attended on him. He briefly touched upon the Disorders of the preceeding Government, and endeavoured to justify this which was established in its Room. After having assured the Members of his good and upright Intentions, he represented his Services done for the Nation since the Dissolution of the long Parliament, and told them that he had called a free Parliament agreeably to the Desires of all good *English-men*; to which he added, That he by no Means pretended to be their Master, but the Companion and Sharer of their Labour.

Lenthall
made
Speaker.

Cromwell hoped from this Parliament, free indeed in all other Respects but that of the Exclusion of the *Royalists* who could not have been admitted with Safety, a Confirmation of his Protectorial Dignity, which, from so free a Parliament, would stop the Mouths of his Enemies. Upon his own recommendation *Lenthall*, Speaker of the long Parliament, was chosen again to that Post. It appeared very soon that the Parliament had a great Number of Members who were Enemies of Tyranny, and from the long Parliament in which they had served, had imbibed Maxims quite contrary to those which *Cromwell* desired to establish. The first Thing proposed was to examine the Power which had convened them; a Question unexpected by *Cromwell*. In all appearance it was the Design of his Enemies, by this, to give a mortal Blow to his Authority in a Decision of its being Imaginary and Illegal, as indeed it was. Perhaps too the Parliament had a Thought to grasp the Sovereign Power into their own Hands, though convened by an unlawful Authority. *Cromwell* himself had given them an Instance of what could be done with the help of Force. But as he had his Friends, as well as Enemies, in the House, he found Means to waste their Time by the Opposition they met with from the Party of the Army-Officers and some others who had espoused his Interest, whether

Cromwell's
Power
questioned.
Clarend.
VI. p. 497.

from Friendship or Fear. Wherefore, though he could not hinder the frequent Debates upon this Affair, he nevertheless gave his Enemies cause to apprehend that their Opposition would prove fruitless when the Point should come to be decided. At last, perceiving that a favourable Opportunity was only watched to have the Question carried against him, he called all the Members into the *Painted-Chamber* to a Speech prepared for the Occasion. Though in his first Speech he told them that he would only be the Companion of their Labour; in this he spoke in the Tone of a Master, and gave them to understand that they assumed too much Liberty in calling an established Government into Question, from which themselves had derived their Authority, since if they were not lawfully convened, they had no Power to debate. At their Return to the House they found a Guard placed at the Door denying Entrance to any Person who would not first sign an Engagement in these Words—I A. B. *do hereby promise and engage my self to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector of the Common-wealib of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and shall not (according to the Tenour of the Indenture whereby I am returned to serve in this present Parliament) propose or give any Consent to alter the Government as it is settled in one single Person and a Parliament.* A great number refusing to sign this Engagement were excluded from the House.

He speaks to the House with Heat and Resentment,
Bate, p. 228.

Baker, p. 623.

Excludes several Members.

Notwithstanding all this, the Members themselves who had signed the Engagement were not at all more manageable, but took every Occasion to shew their Ill-will to Cromwell. They had only signed to have it in their Power to destroy him when a favourable Occasion offered, which they hoped would not be long. A Plot had been laid chiefly by the *Cavaliers*, but with the Privy of a great many Members of Parliament, to raise an Army in several Parts of the Kingdom. Cromwell had Information of it by his spies, and prevented the Execution by a Dissolution of the Parliament Eleven Days before the Time fixed

1654-5.

Dissolves

1655. for its Continuance by the Instrument of Government *, namely, on the 22d of *January*. At the Dissolution he told the Members that he was acquainted with their Designs, and knew that several amongst them had engaged in a Conspiracy against the Government.

Plots against the Protector.

It was not without Foundation that he mentioned a Conspiracy which was now ready to break out. Though he had not come to the Knowledge of all the Particulars, he knew however in general that an Insurrection was intended in several Places, and he had the Names of some of the principal Actors. Two Days after the Dissolution of the Parliament Major *Wildman* was arrested by his Order, and a Declaration was found upon him, setting forth the Reasons which ought to engage the *English* to take up Arms against *Cromwell*. Some others, both Republicans and Royalists, were apprehended on the same Occasion.

Clarend.
VI. p. 500.

A Design laid for two Insurrections.
Ib. p. 337.

Error of the Royalists.

After the King's Retirement to *Cologne*, he received frequent Expresses from his Friends, informing him of the general Discontent which *Cromwell's* Government had raised, and that no Opportunity could be more favourable to incourage a general *Rising*. The Information from the Royalists, so far as it concerned the general Discontent, was certainly true. But they went upon a false Principle, which had often deceived *Charles I.*, and now likewise deceived them. This Principle was, That all who were uneasy with the present Government were disposed to serve the King; and restore him without any Condition. 'Tis true indeed, the *Presbyterians* were willing to have the King restored, provided it could be on the Terms granted by the King his Father in the Treaty of *Newport*, that is, with the Restraint of the Royal Power,

* By the VIIIth Article of the Instrument of Government, the Parliament was not, during the Space of five Months, to be accounted from the Day of their first Meeting, to be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved without their own Consent. *Whist.*
Mem. P. 553.

1655.

Power, and the Maintenance of the *Presbyterian* Government in the Church. But there was no likelihood that *Charles II*, when restored to Power and Liberty, would grant the same Conditions which had been accepted by *Charles I*, under Confinement. On the other Hand, 'tis also true, that in general, *Independents*, *Anabaptists*, in a Word, all the zealous *Republicans*, were become Enemies to *Cromwell* from the Moment of his seizing the Government, and that the Army itself was not without a Party against him. But nothing was farther from these Men's Thoughts, than restoring the King to his Throne; and yet the Royalists perswaded themselves that all *Cromwell's* Enemies, would with Emulation labour for the King's Restoration, as if there was no possibility of being an Enemy to the *Protector*, without being at the same time devoted to the King. Upon this Foundation it was, that they formed the Project of a Rising in the *West*, and of another in the *North*, not making any doubt of the Army's joining, or at least suffering them to act undisturbed against *Cromwell*. This Project was communicated to the King, and had his Approbation, and the Day appointed for the execution was the 8th of *April*. The King dispatched the necessary Commissaries, and privately conveyed himself into *Zealand* to be as near as possible to *England* if the Undertaking should be crowned with Success. At the same time *Wilmot* Earl of *Rocheſter* repaired secretly to *London* in Company of Sir *Joseph Wagſtaff*, who had been a Major-General in the Army of the late King. At *London* their Friends were consulted, and it was resolved to put *Wagſtaff* at the Head of the Rising which was to be in the *West*, and the Earl of *Rocheſter* of that in the *North*.

On the Day appointed *Wagſtaff* came within two Miles of *Salisbury*, where he found *Penruddock* a surpris'd. *Cornish* Gentleman, *Jones*, *Grove*, and some others Baker, p. 624. me together to the number of about two Hundred He ſe. With this ſmall Force they entered *Salisbury* without

1655.

dice of *France*. After the Death of *Charles I*, the Common-wealth of *England* grew so Potent that it was in vain now to endeavour to reduce its Power, especially as *France* was then engaged in a War with *Spain*. If *France* had come into the Interest of *Charles II*, she would have run the Risk of seeing the Parliament enter into a League with *Spain*, which in that Conjunction was not to be hazarded. For this Reason the Interests of *Charles II*, were abandoned by *France*, and all his Assistance from thence was a Pension too inconsiderable for his Subsistence. And even this was allowed him with the greatest Secrecy to give no Jealousie to the Parliament. The *English* were so little afraid of *France*, that in the Year 1652 their Navy made no Scruple of falling upon the *French* Fleet, sent to the Relief of *Dunkirk* then besieged by the *Spaniards*, and taken by them the same Year. Notwithstanding this Affront, *France* neglected not to send an Ambassador to the Parliament to desire their Friendship. *Cromwell* after his Advancement to the *Protectorate*, held, for some Time, the two Courts of *France* and *Spain* in suspense, equally flattering both Kingdoms with Hopes of the Friendship of *England*. But it appeared afterwards that he had only an Intention to amuse *Spain*, having before resolved upon an Alliance with *France*.

ffairs be-
tween
England
and Spain.

Spain had given no more Assistance to *Charles I*, than *France*. On the contrary, *D. Alenxo de Cardenas*, Ambassador from *Spain* in *England*, had manifested a Partiality for the Parliament, which was looked upon by that Prince as a sort of Declaration against him. After the Death of *Charles*, the King of *Spain* paid great Regard to the Parliament, and gave them no just Occasion for War against him. All that *England* could reproach him with was a Reception, and a very cold one, granted to Lord *Cottington* and Mr. *Hyde* as Ambassadors from *Charles II*, but without entering into any Negotiation with them that might give any Jealousie to the Parliament. The sole Design of this Ambassy was to pro-

1655.

cure some Money from the *Spanish* Court for the King's Subsistence, but with no Effect, The Murder of *Ascham* the Parliament's Envoy at *Madrid*, by some *Irish*, and the little Zeal shewn by the Court of *Spain* to bring the Murderers to Punishment, might be another Subject of Complaint. But Things of this Nature are liable to so many Discussions, that it is no easy Matter to know whether it was in the King of *Spain's* Power to give the Parliament an entire Satisfaction. However that be, these Subjects of Complaint were too trifling to lay the Foundation of a War between the two Nations. In the mean Time *Cromwell*, now made *Protector*, had no sooner concluded a Peace with *Holland*, than he formed the Design of falling upon *Spain*. The Motives to this War are not easy to be guessed at. What seems most probable is this; *Cromwell*, as I have observed before, had a Desire to have his Protectorial Dignity which he received from the Officers of the Army confirmed by a Parliament. It concerned him therefore first, to render some signal Service to the State, to make his Usurpation the more easily digested. Secondly, As the Kingdom of *Spain* was then upon the Decline, he perhaps was of Opinion that it would be no Difficulty to make some Conquest upon that Crown, to render his Protectorate famous, and let the *English* see that his Views in raising himself, terminated in a Desire of being the more capable to serve the Republick. Thirdly, There is some Appearance that *Mazarin* had a good Share in this Design, in order to give a powerful Diversion to *Spain*.

However this be, *Cromwell* on his Advancement to the Protectorship equipped two Fleets, one under the Command of *Blake*, sent to the *Mediterranean* to chase the *Corfsairs* of *Algier*, who made frequent Seizures of the *English* Vessels; the other under *Penn*, with about five Thousand Land-Soldiers commanded by *Venables* *. The two last Commanders had sealed

Cromwell
resolves
upon a
War with
Spain.

A Design
upon St.
Domingo.
Clarend.
VI. p. 576.
Baker. p.
624.
Bate, p.
307.

Orders

1655. Orders from *Cromwell*, which were not to be opened till a prefixed time. They sailed from *Portsmouth* the 24th of *December*, and after having kept some time at Sea, arrived at *Barbadoes* the 30th of *March* 1655. The sealed Order contained Instructions for their sailing to the Isle of *Hispaniola*, to render themselves Masters of *St. Domingo* the Capital of the Island. *Cromwell's* Instructions for this Undertaking were so particular, and with such Circumstances, that it was manifest they were drawn up by Men who had a thorough Knowledge of the Country *. On sight of the *English* Fleet the *Spaniards* fled out of *St. Domingo*. But *Venables*, instead of landing his Troops within a Mile of the Place, as his Instructions directed, sailed and landed them some Miles distant from it. This gave the Inhabitants time to recover from the Fright they were in, and to put the Town, to which they had returned, in a Posture of Defence. The *English* on their Arrival before *Domingo*, found themselves so fatigued by a long March, Heat, Famine and Thirst, that they were easily repulsed and driven back to their Ships, after Numbers of their Miscarried Men left dead and wounded upon the Island.

Conquest
of *Jamaica*,
17th May,
Baker, p.
625.

The King
of *Spain*
seizes the
Effects of
the *Eng-
lish* Mer-
chants.

This Attempt miscarrying, the *English* Fleet sailed away to *Jamaica*, and seized the Isle with little Difficulty. Some Troops were left there, and afterwards re-inforced by *Cromwell* in order to preserve this Conquest, and the *English* have since established there a rich Colony. *Venables* was committed to the Tower on his Return to *London*, but soon discharged. The War being declared by this unexpected Attempt upon the *Spaniards*, their King gave Orders for the Seizure of the Effects belonging to the *English* Merchants in *Spain*, and all other Countries under his Dominions, which caused considerable Damage to the *English*. Nor did the Mischief stop here; for by

* It is said. *Thomas Gage*, who had been a Priest, and was come from the *West-Indies*, engaged him in this Design, by giving him an Account of the Weakness as well as Riches of the *Spaniards* in those Parts. *Burnet*, p. 74.

by this War so unjustly entred into, the *English* forfeited the *Spanish* Trade; which transferred to the *Dutch*, helped them to repair the Losses sustained in the last War.

The War with *Spain* was immediately followed by a Peace concluded with *France*, and proclaimed at *London* the 23d of *October*. The Making of this Peace was attended with no Difficulty, as *France* was willing to forget the Injuries received from the *English* in the Year 1652. Nothing therefore remained to be done more than renewing of ancient Treaties, which was made very easy after *Cromwell's* Declaration against *Spain* *.

Besides the Insurrections and Conspiracies from the *Cavaliers* and *Presbyterians*, *Cromwell* had other Fears from the Male-contents of his own Faction. The Service of these Men had been faithful and useful to him while his Designs were concealed, but they were exceedingly provoked at their being made Tools to his private Ambition. The *Republicans* were incensed against him for his subverting their Model of Government, not less sacred to them, than was the *Covenant* to the *Presbyterians*. So that *Cromwell*, by procuring himself to be invested with the Protectorship, had offended them no less than he had done the *Cavaliers* and *Presbyterians*. It was no easy Matter to curb three Parties, which if they could have been brought to unite, would have been strong enough to ruin him. But he well knew such an Union was not easy to be effected, and yet it was not impossible that particular Men of each Party might combine for his Destruction, whether openly or in private. The Army was his only Support, and even these,

* This Confederacy was dearly purchased on the Part of *England*, for by it the Ballance of the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain* was destroyed, and a Foundation laid for the future Greatness of the *French*, to the unspeakable Prejudice of all *Europe* in general, and of the *English* Nation in particular, whose Interest it has been hitherto accounted to maintain that Equality as near as might be. *Ludlow's Mem.* Vol. II. p. 559.

1655. these, as appears from *Ludlow's Memoirs*, who were his most inveterate Enemies were *Republicans*, who hated him mortally, Nay, there was great Likelihood, that had he been obliged to draw the whole dispersed Army together, and the Officers could have come to an Understanding with one another, he would not have remained Master. As to the *Royalists*, he never wanted Pretences to persecute them, which likewise suited with the Humours and Interests of all the other Parties. Then for the *Presbyterians*, the keeping them under was an Obligation upon both *Cavaliers* and *Independents*, as both were assured that they were their Enemies, and had no better Treatment to expect from them, should they ever come again into Play, than they had experienced from *Cromwell*. But the *rigid Republicans* were his most dreaded Enemies, because he had not any Pretence against them. Their Complaints against him were the more just, and inspired them with the greater Freedom of finding Fault with his Measures, as he had put himself at their Head under the specious Colour of the publick Good, and yet deluded them till they had become the Instruments of his private Elevation. Wherefore, to hold all these Parties in Subjection, he divided *England* into eleven Districts, and established in every one Officers, to whom he gave the Title of *Major-Generals*, with an almost absolute Power, the better to qualify them to prevent any Insurrections, which might at any Time happen in the Counties. In this Establishment his principal View was to keep the *Republicans* in Awe, though the *Cavaliers* were the pretended Occasion of it. These *Major-Generals* rose into true Tyrants, and oppressed the People in such a Manner, that *Cromwell* at last saw himself under a necessity of reducing their Power within narrow Bounds *.

Constitutes
Major-Generals,
October.

Thou h

* *Bate* makes the Number of Districts to be 14. The *Major-Generals* were *Kelsey, Goff, Desborough, Fleetwood, Skippon, W*

Though *Cromwell* was inclined by his Ambition to support by Force the Dignity he had procured to himself, nevertheless the Absurdity was too palpable of hoping to exercise an Authority conferred on him by Men invested with no lawful Power. He saw, without any Difficulty, that this was the never-failing Spring from which had flowed all the Plots and Conspiracies against his Person and Government. There was not one Law in being by which he could punish the Conspirators, as his Dignity, far from having any solid Foundation, was indeed a pure Usurpation. On such Occasions therefore it was necessary to have recourse to a Tyrannical Power, and such Violences might produce in the End very ill Consequences. For a Remedy to this Inconvenience, he had called a free Parliament, in Expectation of having his Authority confirmed; but his Views were disappointed. A Parliament therefore he was resolved to have, on which he should be able to depend, and whose Authority he would make use of to secure and establish his own.

1656.
Resolves to
call a Par-
liament.

The Parliament, according to the natural Meaning of the Word, is the Representative of the Nation. The Decisions and Laws made there, are supposed to be conformable to the Sentiments of the Nation in general. The Respect, Veneration, and Attachment which the *English* have for Parliaments are therefore easily accounted for, when it is considered that in supporting them, they maintain their own Liberty. But this supposes a Parliament in the way which the Constitution requires, composed of the King, who is the Head, and the two Houses of *Lords* and *Commons*, with the entire Liberty to these last of electing their own Members. A Parliament thus composed, may truly be called the Nation's Representatives. It is not necessary here to observe that Aflices, Intrigues and Cabals have sometimes al-

Reflections
upon Par-
liaments.

by *Essex*, *Barry*, *Worsley*, *Lambert*, *Eyrkstead*, who was also Lieutenant of the Tower.

1649.

tered this happy Constitution. Frequent Instances before given in the Course of this History put this Matter out of all doubt. We have seen Parliaments void of all Attention to the Good of their Country, devote themselves entirely to the Will of the Prince. By others Kings have been deposed or stripped of their most lawful Prerogatives. But without going further back, let us only reflect on the Transactions of the late Reign, particularly from the Month of *December* 1648. A Parliament reduced by Force and Violence to less than a Hundred Members, brought the Sovereign to the Scaffold, abolished the House of Lords, destroyed Monarchy, changed the Government into a Common-wealth, and invested themselves with the Supreme Authority, under the specious Pretence of their representing the Nation, though without King and House of Peers. And yet, though the Constitution was quite over-turned, though the Name of Parliament, one would have thought, should not have misled the People, the venerable Name was still made use of to force Obedience, on a groundless Supposition, that an Assembly with only the Name was invested with all the Authority of a Parliament legally convened. Upon this Foundation, the Tyrants of the Nation pretended a Power to enact Laws, to Ordain, to Decree, in as ample a Manner as could have been done by a Parliament, compleat in all its Forms. I shall not stay to expose the Extravagance of this Pretension. It is evident, that the Persons who extolled it the most, were not altogether satisfied with it; but as no other Foundation was to be had, the Fabrick was erected upon this, as little solid and safe as it was.

*Upon
Crom-
well's Au-
thority.*

Cromwell's Authority was not at all better supported. His Usurpation was so evident, that a Man must have wilfully shut his Eyes not to see it. He himself was so convinced of it, that he had tried to have his Power confirmed by a free Parliament, as the only Way left to make him easy in the Exercise of it. But failing of Success, he continued where he

was;

was ; that is to say, invested with a Dignity from Hands which had no Power to bestow it. The Authority of a Parliament therefore appeared to him absolutely Necessary to confirm him in his own. But as he had felt by Experience what was to be expected from a free Parliament, he was resolved to call one which might be more at command. He issued out Writs accordingly for the Meeting of a Parliament on the 17th of *September* ; but his Measures were so well taken, that though the People seemed to enjoy full Liberty in the Choice of their Representatives, he made sure of a Majority of Voices. Besides, no Man was admitted to sit in the House, who had not first engaged himself under his Hand, to give no Disturbance to the established Government. This Parliament, composed of the Representatives of the Three Kingdoms, met on the Day appointed. But more than a Hundred Members refusing to sign the *Engagement*, were denied their Seats in the House. The Rest appeared from the first Moment resigned to the Commands of *Cromwell*. An Act was forthwith passed for renouncing the Title of *Charles Stuart*, so they called the King, and this Act was signed by all the Members. By another it was declared High-Treason to attempt any thing against the Life of the *Protector*. In short, in the Space of a few Months the Parliament liberally granted all the Money desired by *Cromwell*, either for the Maintenance of the Army and Government, or the Continuation of the War against *Spain*.

Some Days before the Parliament met, *Blake* and *Montague*, their Admirals, falling in with Eight *Spanish* Ships returning from the *Indies* richly laden, took Two of them, and ran some others ashore. This Action was performed near *Cadiz*, where the *English* Admirals had long attended in Expectation of this Fleet. *Cromwell* ordered the two Ships that had been taken to be brought into the Harbour of *Portsmouth*, and the Money and Merchandize were

1656. brought in Waggon, in a sort of Triumph to London.

1656, 7. In the Month of *February* 1656-7, a Conspiracy was discovered by *Cromwell*, laid against his Person by one *Sindercome*, discharged out of his Horse Guards. This Man being convicted, and condemned to die, was found dead in Prison, the Day on which he was to have been executed *.

1657. About two Months after some *Anabaptists* were discovered, who had been engaged in a Design against *Cromwell's* Life. Major-General *Harrison*, Vice-Admiral *Lawson*, Colonel *Rich*, Major *Danvers*, and some others, all *Anabaptists*, on Suspicion of being concerned in the Conspiracy, were put under Arrest.

Blake's Attempt upon the Galeons at St. Croix in the Canary Isles.

From the Time that *Blake* and *Montague* had taken the two Ships before-mentioned, they had continued cruising off of *Cadiz*, in Expectation of the *Spanish* Fleet returning from *Peru*. As this Fleet did not appear, though it should now have been arrived, *Blake* had Notice that it was retired to *Tenariff*, one of the *Canary* Isles, with Design to stay there till the *English* Fleet should be sailed from *Cadiz*. Pursuant to this Advice, he turned his Course to the *Canary* Isles about the Beginning of *April*, and found there the *Spanish* Fleet, consisting of six *Galleons* richly laden, and Ten other Vessels of less Burthen. The Commander of this Fleet had anchored in the Harbour of *St. Croix*, and taken all imaginable Care to secure himself against an Attack. The Ten Vessels were moored close to the Land, and defended by two Forts well mounted with Guns, and several Batteries erected on the Shore. But the *Galleons* drawing more Water, and so not able to sail far

* He was tried at the upper Bench-bar. The Court declared, "That by the Common Law, to Compaas or Imagine the Death of the chief Magistrate, by what Name soever he was called, whether *Lord Protector*, or otherwise, is High-Treason; and that the Statute 25 *Edw* 3. was only declaratory of the Common Law". *Whit. p.* 645.

far enough into the Harbour, remained farther out, though at as little Distance, as was possible, and presented their Broad-sides to the Sea, that they might be able all at once to Fire upon the Enemy. *Blake* seeing no possibility of coming up to the Ten Vessels, resolved, notwithstanding the Rashness of the Undertaking, to fall upon the *Galeons*. Accordingly being seconded by a favourable Wind, he approached the *Galeons*, received their Fire, and boarded them. The Particulars of this Engagement are related with such Confusion, that we can give no clear Account of it. This however is certain, that *Blake*, after an obstinate Fight, made himself Master of the *Galeons*; and the Wind, which had brought him into the Port, not allowing him to carry them out, he set them on Fire. Immediately after a Land-Breeze springing up put him safe to Sea again. The *Spaniards* on this Occasion sustained a very great Loss in Ships, Money, Men, and Merchandize: But the *English* themselves brought nothing off but the Glory of the Enterprize. *Blake* dying on Ship-board on his Return to *England*, was pompously interred by *Cromwell*, in *Henry* the VIIIth's Chapel among the Monuments of the Kings.

The Parliament which met the 17th of September, continued their Session, being taken up with the most important Affair that could ever come before them, without Interruption. Whether *Cromwell* had before laid the Design of rising still higher, or the favourable Disposition of the House to his Interests, gave him the Thought, he suddenly became more Popular than he had ever been before. He caressed all Parties alike; the *Presbyterians* were under-hand flattered with Hopes of his coming over to their Sentiments; the Nobility met with better Treatment from him, and he appeared less incensed against the King's Party. At last, after his Friends and Creatures had been long labouring to dispose Men in his Favour, a Member of Parliament, one of the City Aldermen, proposed in direct Terms, that he might

1657.

Destroys them.

Debates in the House concerning making an Offer of the Crown to Cromwell

The Motion first made by an Alderman of London, and encouraged by others.

1657. be invested with the Title of King. This Proposition was immediately seconded by a great many Members, and it was observed, that even his known Enemies came willingly into it. These Men saw no other Way more likely to encourage Plots and Conspiracies against him, which might at last end in his Ruin. For the very same Reason his principal Friends opposed the Design with all their Power. It is nevertheless very probable that this Project was not formed without his Knowledge, though he thought not fit to let either *Desborough* his Brother-in-law, or *Fleetwood* his Son-in-law into it, from whom it met with the greatest Opposition. This Contrariety between the Friends of *Cromwell*, held those Persons in suspense, who had no other View than to make their Court to him, and made them irresolute what to do. Wherefore this Proposition was discussed in the House two successive Days. In all appearance, the Persons who were in this Uncertainty were informed, in this Interval, what they had to do. However that be, it was at last carried by a Majority of Voices, to make an Offer of the Crown to *Cromwell*. Pursuant to this Resolution the House immediately appointed a *Committee* to acquaint his Highness with what had been resolved for the publick Good. He seemed surprized with the Offer, and told the Committee that he thought it very strange the Parliament should have entertained such a Design: That he neither believed that the House ought to make the Offer, nor that himself could with any Conscience accept it. The Committee expecting no other Answer, replied, That they did not at all question but he would grant their Desires, when he was made acquainted with the Reasons on which the Parliament had founded their Resolution, and to which they besought him only to lend an Ear. Whereupon he appointed a Day to hear what they had to say to him *.

Cromwell waited on by a Committee with the Offer of the Crown.

The

* *Whistock's Account* is thus: The Parliament had been long about

The Committee, on the Day appointed, entertained him with long Discourses, to let him into the Reasons on which the Parliament founded their Request, the principal whereof were these: "That the People of *England* had for many Ages been accustomed to the Government of Kings. That in receding from this Government an Abolition of several Laws, Customs, and Formalities; and an Establishment of others in their Room was necessary, which would never be endured by the People on account of their Novelty. That by the Tenour of the Laws of *England*, there could be no Security or Safety to any Act of the Government, without the Intervention and Authority of a King. That no Man hitherto concerned in the War, and the Changes lately made, could be safe as to what he had acted, but would remain liable to the most dangerous Inquiries from the Laws of his Country. That the Conspiracies which were every Day discovered, clearly shewed that the People are resolved upon having a King, nor would be satisfied without one. In a word, That the Kingdom would never arrive at any peaceable Settlement, till Things were brought back to their old Channel. That it was very true, the Royal Family had been rejected on account of their Tyrannies; but this was no Objection to the chusing a King out of another Family, nor could any Kingdom be produced where the like had not been done, as well as in *England*".

1657.
Reasons
laid before
him to pre-
vail with
him to ac-
cept it.

K 4

These

about the settling of the Nation, and had framed a Writing which they filed, *The Humble Petition and Advice of the Parliament of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to his Highness*. The first Business of it was for the Protector to have the Title of King. This *Petition and Advice* was presented to his Highness by the House, and he desired that a Committee might be appointed to confer with him about it; which was named, and *Whitlock*, one of the Committee, was made Chairman. When the Committee attended his Highness, *Whitlock* spoke to him upon the Title of King, giving Reasons why he should accept of it. The Protector urged his Reasons against it, and *Whitlock* replied: The whole Debate is in Print. *Whit. Mem.* p. 646.

1647. " the Power of the other House be limited as therein is prescribed : That the Laws and Statutes of the Land be observed and kept ; no Laws altered, suspended, abrogated or repealed, but by new Laws made by Act of Parliament : That the yearly Sum of a Million of Pounds *Sterling* be settled for the Maintenance of the Navy and Army ; and Three Hundred Thousand Pounds for the Support of the Government ; besides other temporary Supplies as the Commons in Parliament shall see the Necessities of the Nation to require : That the Number of the *Protector's* Council shall not exceed One and Twenty, whereof Seven shall be a *Quorum* (a). The chief Officers of the State, as Chancellors, Keepers of the Great-Seal, &c. to be approved by Parliament : That his Highness would encourage a godly Ministry in these Nations ; and that such as do revile and disturb them in the Worship of God, may be punished according to Law ; and where Laws are defective, new ones to be made : That the *Protestant Christian Religion*, as it is contained in the *Old and New Testament*, be asserted and held forth for the Publick Profession of these Nations, and no other ; and that a Confession of Faith be agreed upon, and recommended to the People of these Nations ; and none to be permitted by Words, or Writing, to revile or reproach the said Confession of Faith."

The general Terms in which the Three last Articles relating to Religion are expressed, make it clear, that the Intention of the Parliament, or rather of *Cromwell* who ruled them, was to oblige equally the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*. The former, in the Support

(a) The Expression is taken from the Clause inserted in most Commissions, in which after the Number of Commissioners is fixed, the King appoints some particular Persons amongst them, who are to be present to give a Validity to all Acts done in Virtue of the Commission, and this he does by saying, *et quorum esse numero volumus*, &c.

Support of the Ministry, upon the Foot of its present Establishment, and the latter in introducing into Religion, a Latitude which left to every Man a Liberty to believe and practise as he pleased, and both Parties in equally flattering their Hopes with a Confession of Faith, in which either of them should find their Account. The Episcopalians alone could not expect any Advantage.

1657.

Cromwell having sworn to the punctual Observati-
on of these Articles, appointed the 26th of *June* for
the Day of his Inauguration, which was solemnized
with great Pomp *. He was, doubtless, of Opinion,
that this second Inauguration was necessary to supply
the Defects of the first, which had been made without
any lawful Authority. This done, the House ad-
journd to the 20th of *January* 1657-8.

Cromwell
solemnly
inaugurated,
26th
of June.
Baker.
P. 630.

After

* A Place being prepared at the Upper-End of *Westminster-Hall*, in the midst of it was set a rich Cloth of State, with a Chair of State under it, upon an Ascent of two Steps. Before it a Table and Chair for the Speaker, and on each Side of the Hall covered Seats one over another for the Members. About two a-Clock his Highness came, the Earl of *Warwick* carrying the Sword before him, and the Lord-Mayor of *London* with the City Sword. His Highness standing under the Cloth of State, the Speaker presented to him a Robe of Purple Velvet lined with *Ermins*, which the Speaker, assisted by *Whitlock*, put upon him. Then he delivered to him the Bible richly gilt and bossed; after that he girt on his Sword, and delivered into his Hands the Scepter of Massy Gold, and then made a Speech to him, and gave him the Oath. After this the People gave several Shouts, and the Trumpets sounded: The Protector sat in the Chair of State holding the Scepter in his Hand; on his Right Side sat the Ambassador of *France*, on the Left the Ambassador of the *United-Provinces*: Near him stood his Son *Richard*, *Fleetwood* Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*, *Claypole* Master of the Horse, the Council and Officers of State. The Earl of *Warwick* held the Sword on the Right, and the Lord-Mayor the City Sword on the Left Side of the Chair. Near the Earl of *Warwick* stood Viscount *Lisle*, Earl of *Montague*, and *Whitlock*, each of them with a drawn Sword in their Hands. Then the Trumpets sounded, and a Herald proclaimed his Highnesses's Title, and Proclamation was made to the People, crying, *God save the Protector*. The Ceremonies being ended, he went in State to *Westminster-Hall Gate*, where he took Coach, and went to the House, and passed some Bills. *Whit. Mem.* p. 662.

1657.
*A League
 Offensive
 and Defen-
 sive be-
 tween
 France
 and Crom-
 well,*
 March 13.
*Aubery's
 History of
 Cardinal
 Mazarine.*
*King
 Charles
 makes an
 Alliance
 with
 Spain.*
Clarend.
 VI.

After the antient Treaties between *France* and *Eng-land* had been renewed, a Negotiation was set on Foot to make a League Offensive and Defensive against *Spain*. This Negotiation, begun by the Ambassador of *France* in the Year 1656 at *London*, was concluded at *Paris* the 13th of *March* 1657, by a Treaty of League which ran that *Cromwell* should join Six Thousand Men with the *French* Army; that *Mardyke* and *Dunkirk* should be besieged, and when taken, delivered into the Hands of the *English* (a). King *Charles* informed of this Negotiation which had been depending from the Year 1656, to the Year 1657, sent a trusty Messenger to Arch-Duke *Leopold*, Governour of the *Low-Countries*, to make him the Offer of a League with *Spain*. The King's Intention was to give himself a Reputation by a League made with this Crown; and moreover, he was desirous to reside in the *Low-Countries* to be nearer *England*, when his Presence there should be wanted. The Arch-Duke accepted the Proposal, believing that if the King of *England* was fixed to the Interests of *Spain*, he would have Credit enough to draw the *Irish* Forces from the *French*, into the *Spanish* Service. This was all the Advantage which *Spain* had to expect from a League with a Prince, who indeed had nothing to offer. Nay, he was even to be subsisted by that Crown, when ever *France* should withdraw his Maintenance. However that be, the King and Arch-Duke concluded a Treaty, by which the King had Liberty to reside at *Bruges*, without any Notice to be taken of it by *Spain*, which was but little able to give him a Reception and Entertainment suitable to his Dignity. *Spain* was moreover to furnish him with Six Thousand Men, as soon as he should become Master of any good Port in *England*. The King satisfied with these Conditions, because he had

(a) Some Authors by confounding these two Treaties, the one of the 23d of *October* 1655, and the other of the 3d of *March* 1657, have fallen into some Mistakes.

had nothing to offer to procure better, signed the Treaty which was ratified by the King of Spain. Upon the Ratification, Philip settled upon the King a Monthly Pension of six Thousand Livres, and another of Three Thousand upon the Duke of Gloucester, who had been sent for out of France by his Brother the King, from his Mother, who was using all her Sollicitation to make him change his Religion. Thus the King left Cologne in April 1657, and retired to Bruges, at the same Time that Arch-Duke Leopold resigned the Government of the Low-Countries into the Hands of Don John of Austria, natural Son of Philip IV. Afterwards the King prevailed with the Lord Muskerry, Colonel of an Irish Regiment in the Pay of France, to desert the Service of that Crown, and come into that of Spain. He also found Means to bring four Regiments, English, Scotch, and Irish, to make him the Offer of their Service in single Companies. These Regiments, though not in very good Order, served in the Spanish Army.

Has a Pension granted from that Crown of 6000 Livres per Month. Goes to reside at Bruges.

As soon as the Treaty was signed between France and England, Cardinal Mazarin signified to the Duke of York, that he was to retire out of the Dominions of France. All the English of the King's Party, in the Pay of France, had the same Orders, and amongst the rest the Lord Digby, now become Earl of Bristol upon the Death of his Father, and a Convert to the Catholick Religion. All these English thus dismissed from France, retired into the Low-Countries, some to their King, the rest to find Employment in the Service of Don John.

The Duke of York obliged to quit France. Clarend. VI. p. 610

In Consequence of the League, Cromwell sent six Thousand Men of his best Troops into France under the Command of Reynolds, who had concluded the Treaty at Paris in Quality of his Ambassador. In this Campaign, several Places were taken from the Spaniards, and amongst the rest Mardyke, which was delivered to the English. Reynolds was unhappily drowned in his Return to England, and succeeded in the Command of the English Forces in the Service of France,

Cromwell sends six Thousand English into France. October 23.

1657. France, by Lockbart a Scotch Man, and then Ambassador to that Crown.

1657-8. As by the 3d Article of the *Humble Petition and Advice*, it was provided that the *Protector* should every Year summon a Parliament composed of two Houses, *Cromwell* resolved not to be wanting in the Observation of this Article, which had been inserted into the Instrument by his sole Direction. He therefore chose a certain Number at his own Pleasure, to fill up his other House. Most of these were Army-Officers, or other Persons devoted to him, to whom he would have added some of the antient Peers; but they refused to take their Seats with these Men. Having made his Choice, he issued out his Writs for their Meeting in Parliament, in a separate House, the 20th of *January* 1657-8. His Intention was to have this House considered as a House of Peers, and invested with the same Honours and Privileges, which the Peers had ever enjoyed. He durst not give it the Name of the House of Peers, but contented himself with calling it the *Other House*, till a more favourable Conjunction should allow it the assuming a higher and more agreeable Title *.

Designs of
his Enemies
against him.

Cromwell, as has been said, had created himself a great many Enemies, not only amongst the *Royalists*, and *Presbyterians*, but even among the *Independents* themselves. These last were exceedingly provoked at his having made them the Tools of his Ambition, while they thought they were labouring under him to establish a *Republican-Government*. The Sequel made it evident to them, that in abolishing the Regal Title, he never had Intention to destroy the Monarchy.

* The Form of the Writs was the same with those which were used to be sent to summon the *Peers* in Parliament. They were in all Sixty; among whom were divers Noblemen, Knights, and Gentlemen of antient Families and good Estates, and some Colonels and Officers of the Army. This is *Whitlock's* Account who was one of them; and who has given us the Names of all the Sixty. Among whom were four Earls, two Viscounts, and several Lords, as the Reader may see, p. 665, of *Whitlock's Mem.* And here again there is Reason to wish *Rapin* had seen *Whitlock's Mem.*

narchy, since under the Name of *Protector*, he had grasped the Supreme Power. They therefore looked upon him as the most perfidious of Men, and were not less his Enemies than either *Presbyterians* or *Royalists*. He had no other Support than the Army, filled by himself with *Fanatics* and *Entbusiasts*, who had wrought themselves into a Belief that the Time was come to erect a *Fifth-Monarchy*, or the Reign of *Jesus Christ* upon Earth. *Cromwell* was not ignorant of the Design his Enemies had to destroy him, on pretence of raising him Higher, and this had made him refuse the Title of King. It was likewise with a View to break their Measures, that he had asked and obtained a Power of instituting another House, to oppose it occasionally to the Designs of the House of Commons, where he knew he had a Number of Enemies; and of this he had Cause very soon to be still more sensible.

1657-8.

His Enemies having had Leisure to concert their Measures during the Adjournment, took another Course to destroy him when the Parliament met again. As by the III^d * Article of the *Humble Petition and Advice*, it was provided that the Members which had been legally chosen should not be excluded without the Consent of their own House, a Motion was made to admit into the House all the elected Members, who had refused to sign the *Engagement*. This Motion was so suddenly received and approved, that *Cromwell* had no Time to oppose it; and he could have done it with the less Grace, as it was countenanced by a solemn Act, which himself had sworn to observe. By this Means more than a Hundred Members, *Republicans* and *Presbyterians*, all his sworn Enemies, were admitted into the House of Commons *¹. From this Time the State of Affairs began to change, *Cromwell's* Enemies having gained a Superiority in that very House which had made him the Offer of the Crown.

The Parliament meets in two Houses, Jan. 20. 1657-8.

The excluded Members received into it, who were *Cromwell's* Enemies.

* Rapin by Mistake says the IVth. See the Petition, *Whit.* p. 678.

*¹ Among whom particularly were Sir *Harry Vane*, *Hastig*, and many others of great Credit and Interest.

1657-8. Crown. As their Designs against him were deeply laid, their first Care was to prevent any Interruption from the Negative of the other House, who were all his Creatures. The Authority therefore of that House was first called to Question, and it was argued that it could have no *Negative*, since the House of Commons, which had given it a Being, had never pretended to make *Peers* of Men, who had no other Power than what the House of Commons had thought fit to grant them. It was added, that for this Reason the *Humble Petition and Advice* had provided that the Power of the other House should be limited. *Cromwell*, who well knew the Tendency of all this, called the Parliament to *Whitehall*, and in a Speech maintained the Authority of the *other House* with such Vehemence, that the Commons fearing an immediate Dissolution, found it necessary to acknowledge the *other House* was an essential Part of the Parliament.

The Parliament examines the Validity of the Humble Petition and Advice.
Baker,
p. 601.

This however did not prevent the Commons from taking into Consideration the *Act* intituled the *Humble Petition and Advice*, and many were of Opinion that it was all null and void, as it was made when a great Number of the Members were excluded from Parliament, without any lawful Cause or Objection. This Freedom struck openly at the *Act* itself, and consequently at *Cromwell's* Protectorship which was confirmed by it. *Cromwell* was too quick-sighted not to see that his Interest was concerned to allow no long Session to this Parliament. He therefore came to the *other House*, and calling the Commons before him, spoke to them in these Terms :

Cromwell's Speech to the Parliament.

I had a very comfortable Expectation that God would make the Meeting of the Parliament a Blessing ; and I Lord be my Witness, I desire the carrying on the Affairs of the Nation to these Ends. The Blessing which I mean, and which we ever climbed at, was Mercy, Truth, Righteousness, and Peace, which I desire may be improved.

1658.

That which brought me into the Capacity I now stand in, was the Petition and Advice given me by you, who, in reference to the Antient Constitution, did draw me to accept of the Place of Protector. There is not a Man living can say I sought it; no, not a Man, nor a Woman treading upon English Ground; but I, contemplating the sad Condition of these Nations, relieved from an Intestine War unto a Six or Seven Years Peace, did think the Nation happy therein. But to be petitioned thereunto, and advised by you to undertake such a Government, a burden too heavy for any Creature, and this to be done by the House that had then the Legislative Capacity, I did look that the same Men that made the Frame, should make it good unto me: I can say in the Presence of God, in comparison of whom we are but like poor creeping Ants upon the Earth, I would have been glad to have lived under any Wood-side, to have kept a Flock of Sheep, rather than undertaken such a Government as this is; but undertaking it by the Advice and Petition of you, I did look that you that had offered it unto me should make it good.

I did tell you, at a Conference concerning it, that I would not undertake it unless there might be some other Person that might interpose between me and the House of Commons, who then had the Power to prevent tumultuary and popular Spirits, and it was granted I should make another House; and I named it of Men that shall meet you wheresoever you go, and shake Hands with you, and tell you it is not Titles, nor Lords, nor Party, that they value, but a Christian and an English Interest, Men of your own Rank and Quality, who will not only be a Ballance unto you, but to themselves, while you love England and Religion.

Having proceeded upon these Terms, and finding such a Spirit is too much predominant, any Thing being too high or too low, when Virtue, Honesty, Piety, and Justice are omitted: I thought I had been doing that which was my Duty, and thought it would have satisfied you; but if every Thing must be too high or too low, you are not to be satisfied.

1658.

Again, I would not have accepted of the Government, unless I knew there would be a just Accord between the Governour and the governed, unless they would take an Oath to make good what the Parliament's Petition and Advice advised me unto; upon that I took one Oath, and they took another Oath upon their Part answerable to mine; and did not every one know upon what Condition they Swore? God knows, I took it upon Condition expressed in the Government: And I did think we had been upon a Foundation, and upon a Bottom; and thereupon I thought my self bound to take it, and to be advised by the two Houses of Parliament. We standing unsettled till we were arrived at that; the Consequences would necessarily have been Confusion, if that had not been settled. Yet there are not constituted hereditary Lords, nor hereditary Kings; the Power consisting in the two Houses and my self. I do not say, what the Meaning of your Oath was to you, that were to go against my own Principles to enter upon another Man's Conscience; God will judge between me and you: If there had been in you any Intention of Settlement, you would have settled upon this Basis, and have offered your Judgement and Opinion.

God is my Witness, I speak it, it is evident to all the World and People living, that a new Business hath been seeking in the Army against this actual Settlement by your Consent; I do not speak to these Gentlemen or Lords, pointing to his Right Hand, whatsoever you will call them, I speak not this to them, but to you; you advised me to run into this Place to be in a Capacity by your Advice; yet instead of owning a Thing taken for granted, some must have I know not what; and you have not only disjoyned your selves, but the whole Nation, which is in likelihood of running into more Confusion in this fifteen or sixteen Days that you have sate, than it hath been from the rising of the last Session to this Day, thorough the Intention of devising a Common-wealth again, that some of the People might be the Men that might rule all, and they are endeavouring to engage the Army to carry that Thing; and hath that Man been true to his Nation,

1658.

Nation, whoſoever be he, eſpecially that hath taken an Oath, thus to prevaricate? Theſe Deſigns have been upon the Army, to break and divide us: I ſpeak this in the Preſence of ſome of the Army, that theſe Things have not been according to God, nor according to Truth (pretend what you will.) Theſe Things tend to nothing elſe but the playing of the King of Scots's Game, if I may ſo call him; I think my ſelf bound before God to do what I can to prevent it. That which I told you in the Banqueting Houſe was true, that there were Preparations of Force to invade us; God is my Witneſs it hath been confirmed to me ſince within a Day, that the King hath an Army at the Water-ſide ready to be ſhipped for England. I have it from thoſe who have been Eye-witneſſes of it. And while it is doing, there are Endeavours from ſome who are not far from this Place, to ſtir up the People of this Town into Tumulting. What if I had ſaid unto Rebellion? and I hope I ſhall make it appear to be no better, if God aſſiſt me; it hath been not only your Endeavour to pervert the Army, while you have been ſitting, and to draw them to ſtate the Queſtion about the Commonwealth, but ſome of you have been liſting of Perſons by Commiſſion from Charles Stuart, to join with an Inſurrection that may be made: And what is like to come upon this (the Enemy being ready to invade us.) but even preſent Blood and Confuſion. And if this be ſo as I do aſſign to this Cauſe, your not aſſenting to what you did invite me to by the Petition and Advice, as that which might be the Settlement of the Nation, and if this be the End of your ſitting, and this be your Carriages, I think it high time that an End be put unto your ſitting, and I do declare to you, I do Diſſolve this Parliament: And let God judge between me and you. At which many of the Commons cried Amen.

After the Parliament was diſſolved, Cromwell, either Lambert ſelecting, or perhaps informed, that Lambert was one of the principal Managers of the Conſpiracy which had been laid againſt him, turned him out of all his Employments. Fleetwood was recalled from Ireland.

Lambert
turned out
of his Pro-
formers.
Succeeded
by Fleet-
wood.

1658.
Who is suc-
ceeded by
Henry
Crom-
well.

Crom-
well's Fa-
mily.

He reduces
the Power
of the Ma-
jor Gene-
rals.

A Conspi-
racy of the
Royalists.

Ireland to succeed *Lambert* in the Lieutenant-Generalship, and *Henry Cromwell*, younger Son of the *Protector*, was sent into Ireland in *Fleetwood's* room. After *Cromwell* had been confirmed in the *Protectorate*, he had called his eldest Son *Richard* up to Court*, and made him *Chancellor* of the University of *Oxford*. He had married his second Daughter to the Lord *Falconbridge*, and his third to Mr. *Rich* Grand-son to the Earl of *Warwick*. His eldest had long before been married to Mr. *Claypool*, and a fourth, named *Elizabeth*, lived unmarried, if I am not mistaken, till the Reign of *William III.**1. Soon after the Dismissal of *Lambert*, *Cromwell* so reduced the Authority of the Major-Generals, that they had no longer the Power, which they had before, of oppressing the People. In all Appearance they had been too busy in tampering with the Army, and that it was this which was hinted at by the *Protector* in his Speech to the Parliament. It is pretended that he had a Design of making a greater Reform in his Army, and of dismissing every Person of suspected Fidelity to himself. But he had not Time to put his Project in Execution.

It was not without Ground that *Cromwell* spoke of a Conspiracy carrying on in *England* in Favour of the King. The *Royalists* persisting in their Persuasion, that all who were Enemies either of *Cromwell* or his Government, were secretly in the Interests of the King, formed upon this Foundation a Design to place him upon the Throne by the Assistance of his greatest Enemies. This would appear incredible, if

* He had till this Time lived privately in the Country upon the Fortune his Wife had brought him, in a Village in *Hampshire*. *Clarendon*.

* The Marriages of his Daughters, *Mary* to the Lord *Falconbridge*, and *Frances* to Mr. *Rich* the Earl of *Warwick's* Grand-son were celebrated first according to Ceremonies then in Use, but privately afterwards according to the Rites of the Church of *England*. *Bridges* had two Husbands, *Ireton* and *Fleetwood*, and *Elizabeth* (whom *Rapin* by Mistake says lived unmarried) was Wife to *Claypole*. The Lady *Falconbridge* lived to extreme old Age.

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if they had not given frequent Instances of this their Prejudice. The Design was, as usual, to raise Insurrections in different Parts of the Kingdom, in a Belief that the King's private Friends would not let slip the Occasion of joining those who should be in Arms. The principal Contrivers of this Plot were Mr. *Mordaunt* Brother of the Earl of *Peterborough*, Sir *Henry Slingsby* a rich and popular Man in the County of *York*, and Dr. *Hewet* a Minister of the Church of *England*. This Design had been represented to the King in so advantageous a Light from the general Uneasiness under the present Government, that he conceived Hopes of Success. And therefore he had made some Preparations in the *Low-Countries*, and the four Regiments raised by him, and after the Miscarriage, put into the Service of *Spain*, were intended to support this Design. He had moreover sent Commissions into *England*, for those who would engage in his Service. One of these Commissions to raise a Regiment of Horse had been granted to one Mr. *Hopley*, whose Father had been *Cromwell's* fast Friend, and one of the King's Judges. *Cromwell*, having some Intimation of the Design, sent for *Hopley*, and by his Address brought him to a Discovery of the whole Conspiracy, and a Confession that he had received his Commission from the Hands of Mr. *Mordaunt*. He told him that the Marquess of *Ormond* had been at *London*, and made a Stay of three Weeks to concert Measures with the Conspirators, and give them his Directions; and this was true. The Earl of *Clarendon* intimates that the Marquess had not found Things ripe for the Execution; and nevertheless the great Number of Commissions granted, shew that the Court had a better Opinion of the Undertaking. However that be, the Marquess had the good Luck to leave *England*, and to be back with the King, before *Cromwell* knew that he had been there. Immediately after the Dissolution of the Parliament, *Mordaunt*, *Slingsby*, and *Hewet* were committed to the *Tower*, and their Accomplis-

Discover-
ed by
Hopley.

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Slingsby, Hewet and others executed.

Address of some Solicitors to the King. The Earl of *Clarendon* gives us on this Occasion a long Address to the King, from Numbers of *Independents*, *Quakers*, and *Anabaptists*, brought to him by a young Gentleman named *Sexby* * 1, which supposed the Death of *Cromwell* to be near, and seemed to intimate a Design formed by them for his Assassination. To this Address were annexed some Conditions demanded of the King, with which assuredly he could not comply. He therefore contented himself with returning a general Answer, that it was not his Inclination, to persecute any Man on Account of his Religion, who behaved himself peaceably, and that they might hope for his Favour, if they did any Services

Clarend.
VI. p. 625.

* Of which *Whitlock* was one of the Commissioners; but never sate with them, it being against his Judgement. He was for trying the Conspirators in the ordinary Course of *Common-Law*; it says he, his Highness was too much in Love with the *new* way, which he thought to be more effectual, and would the more r- rify the Offenders. *Whis.* p. 674.

* 1 *Sexby* was not the Person sent with the Address, though he was an Agent both for these People and the *Spaniards*. He was an illiterate but sensible Man, of no Family, and at first only a common Soldier in *Cromwell's* Troops. The Person that brought the Address was, the Lord *Clarendon* says, a young Gentleman of an honourable Extraction. *Clarend.* III. p. 625.

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Services for him, which seemed intended by him to encourage them in the Execution of their Design. It is certain, that these Men were hearty Enemies to *Cromwell*, but they depended too much on their own Strength, and filled their Heads with *Chimerical* Designs which they were not capable to execute. After all, the King would have received no Advantages from any Success of theirs, as they had Principles so opposite to his. In all likelihood their Intention was to make use of the King's Name and Authority to accomplish their own Designs; but not to place him upon the Throne in the Way that he desired. Accordingly this Project proved abortive.

In the Month of *June*, this Year, Marshal *de Turenne*, laid Siege to *Dunkirk*, contrary to the Opinion of *Don John of Austria*, who expected that he would have opened the Campaign with the Siege of *Cambray*. As this Belief had made him neglect the Fortifications of *Dunkirk*, he saw himself under the Necessity of hazarding a Battle to save this Place, which was not in a Condition to make a long Resistance. But this Battle proved fatal to the *Spaniards*, who were entirely defeated *, and the Siege continued by *Turenne*, who made himself Master of *Dunkirk* the 26th of *June*. The Town, in pursuance of the Treaty made with *England*, was surrendered into the Hands of *Cromwell*, who placed a strong Garrison in it, and made *Lockhart* the Governour.

Dunkirk taken.

The Battle of Dunes.

Dunkirk delivered to Cromwell.

For some Time backward *Cromwell* had been agitated with greater Cares and Fears than he had ever before discovered. And there was Reason for it, as he had Informations from divers Parts, of Designs laid to assassinate him, by the Hands of Men, who had been most zealously devoted to his Interests. This put him upon his Guard more than he had ever been before. He never lay twice together in the same Chamber, nor appeared in Publick without

* Chiefly by Means of *Lockhart* (who had married *Cromwell's* Niece) and his *English* Foot.

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Crom-
well's
Death.Descent
and Cha-
racter.

a strong Body of Guards. But all his Precautions to avoid a violent Death, could not secure him from a natural one. In *August*, this Year, he was seized with a Fever at *Hampton-Court*, which at first had no dangerous Symptoms; but his Distemper daily increasing, he was brought to *Whitehall*, where, after having nominated his eldest Son *Richard* for his Successor, he expired at the Age of 58 Years, and on the 3d of *September*, a Day which had been twice fortunate to him in two Battles gained; that of *Dunbar* in 1650, and that of *Worcester* in 1651 *.

Cromwell's Family was originally of the County of *Glamorgan* in the Principality of *Wales*. It went then by the Name of *Williams*, and assumed that of *Cromwell*, and transmitted it to Posterity, by a Marriage with a Daughter of *Cromwell* Vicar-General in the Reign of *Henry VIII*. *Oliver Cromwell* was born in *Huntington* in the Year 1600 or 1601. His Education was but ordinary *; nor is it known how he spent his Time before he arrived to about 35 Years of Age. He then began a Reformation of his Life which was very regular, sullied with no Action either Scandalous or Unbecoming. Probably he then, if not sooner, engaged himself in the *Presbyterian* Party. A Reputation which he had acquired for Honesty and Religion, and, without doubt, his Principles with relation to Government, were the Motives to his being returned for the Town of *Cambridge*, in the Parliament which met the 3d of *November* 1640. He sat two Years in the House undistinguished for any Thing remarkable, as he had no great Talents to give him a Reputation amongst the able Speakers. His Delivery was rustick and disagreeable,

* *Whitlock* says, *Cromwell* went to Rest in the Grave the last Day he had obtained the Victories at *Dunbar* and at *Worcester*: After his many great Actions and Troubles, he now died quietly in his Bed. Some were of Opinion he was poisoned. *Whit. Mem.* p. 679.

* His Education was suitable to his Birth, being first sent *Cambridge*, and then to *Lincoln's Inn*.

disagreeable, and his Speeches prolix and confused. It was, probably, in these two Years that he was gained by the *Independents*, and came over to their Faction then concealed under the Name of *rigid Presbyterians*. Agreeably to the Views and Interests of this Faction, *Cromwell* affected an extraordinary Zeal for the *Presbyterian* Model, and the Liberty of the Nation against the Usurpation of the Court, in which he complied with the Humours of the then leading Members of the House. Wherefore, on the breaking out of the Civil-War in 1642, he had a Post in the Army, as he was looked upon entirely devoted to the House of Commons, of which he was a Member. He was from the first a *Major* of Horse, and though he was two and Forty Years of Age before he had drawn a Sword, he so distinguished his Valour while he wore this Commission, that he was soon after made Colonel of a Regiment. The Army had not an Officer of more intrepid Bravery, nor one more eager to seek Occasions to signalize his Courage. His Reputation rose so fast, that he became Major-General, then Lieutenant-General under *Fairfax*, and at last his Successor. His great Talents for War were not at all inferior to his Capacity in Civil Affairs. He entered into the deepest Designs of his Faction, and at last rose to be one of its Chiefs, advancing here with the same Rapidity that he had done in the Army. He it was, who, accusing the Earl of *Manchester* of having been wanting in his Duty in the second Battle of *Newbury*, broke the Ice, and gave Occasion to the new modelling the Army, which was the first Step to the Triumph of the *Independents*. From this Time he was looked upon as the Chief of that Faction, and, properly speaking, of the Army itself, General *Fairfax* acting only as directed by him. I will carry no farther my Abridgement of a History before enlarged upon. And will only say, that his Troops believed themselves invincible with him at their Head, and that he was never once forced to turn his Back.

The

1658. The Victory gained over Prince *Rupert* at *Marston Moor*, was chiefly ascribed to his Valour. The Reduction of *Ireland* in less than a Year, brought a great Accession to, and the Battles of *Dunbar* and *Worcester* compleated his Glory.

Burnet's
History of
his own
Times.

Let us next view him in his Government after he became *Protector*. Here, if we compare him with the two last Kings, the Disparity will be evident with regard to the Glory and Reputation of the *English* Nation. *James I.*, and *Charles I.*, seemed to have studied how to debase the *English* Name; whereas *Cromwell*, in the Space of four or five Years carried it as high as it was capable to be raised, and in this Respect was not at all inferiour to *Elizabeth*. He was equally dreaded by *France* and *Spain*, and the *United-Provinces*. And the Court paid him by these Three States, to obtain his Friendship, had something in it even low and unbecoming. *Charles Gustavus*, King of *Sweden*, thought himself honoured by his Alliance and Friendship. And in this Part of his Character, his greatest Enemies cannot deny him their Praises.

If we consider him as a private Man, it may with Assurance be said, That his Morals and Conduct were very regular. He had none of the Vices to which Men are commonly addicted. Gluttony, Drunkenness, Gaming, Luxury, Avarice, Desire of other Men's Goods, were Vices with which he was never reproached. On the contrary it is certain, that he promoted virtuous Men, and was inflexible in his Punishments of Vice and notoriously bad Actions. It is true, that his own Preservation obliged him to employ Men of ill Principles; but this is no more than is commonly done by those, who are at the Head of a Government.

In Religion he was *Independent*; but his Principle was to leave every Man at Liberty in the Religion he had chosen, and he raised no Persecutions on this Account. He even connived at the private Meetings of those who remained firm to the Church of
England,

England, though he wanted no Informations of them. If they were not favoured with a free and publick Exercise of their Religion, it was because they were considered by him as Men, who were devoted to the King, always ready for any Enterprize in his Favour, and therefore the more to be watched and suspected. Though his Sentiments were for the *Independent Scheme*, and by Consequence at a great distance from any Union with the National Church, he however looked upon all *Protestant Churches*, as Parts of the *Protestant Catholick Church*, and without aiming to establish *Independency* and *Fanaticism* by Force and Violence, he witnessed on all Occasions an extreme Zeal for the *Protestant Religion*. Dr. Burnet, in the History of his own Times, acquaints us, that if *Cromwell* had accepted the Title of King, he intended to have established a *Council* in imitation of that at *Rome*, *de propagandâ fide*, to have had an Eye to whatever was any where acting which could have any Relation to the Interests of the *Protestants*. He adds, that a Fund was to have been settled upon this Council of ten Thousand Pounds a Year, for its necessary Expences, besides five Hundred Pounds a piece to be allowed to each of the four Secretaries.

It may be added, to the Honour of *Cromwell*, that never Man was better acquainted with the inward Springs of Men's Actions, though he seemed not to have made them his particular Study. There never was a greater Address than his to manage and bring over Men to his own Designs, nor a better Natural Capacity for Affairs, with no Assistance from Study and Learning: For he retained hardly any thing of the small stock of *Latin* he had brought from School. In a Word, never Man chose his Party with so much Judgement, or executed his Designs with greater Vigour and Readiness. Such in short, were the Virtues and shining Qualities of *Cromwell*; but we must not conceal the Vices and Imperfections with which he is charged.

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The Accufation againſt him lies in three Articles : His ſeizing a Government to which he had no Right, out of boundleſs Ambition : His maintaining himſelf in it by a moſt ſhameleſs Diſſimulation : And his delivering Numbers of his private Enemies into the Hands of the Executioner, without any Regard to Laws eſtabliſhed in *England* Time out of Mind. Upon theſe three Articles I ſhall offer ſome Conſiderations to the Reader, to aſſiſt him in forming a juſt Notion of *Cromwell's* Character.

As to the firſt Accuſation it is to be conſidered, that as much as the Memory of *Cromwell*, and his Seizure of the Government are traduced by the *Royalists*, and this Seizure made the Foundation of all their Complaints, it is nevertheless certain that the King was no way intereſted in the Change. It was not *Charles II.*, but a *Republican* Parliament which was ſtripped of the Supreme Power by *Cromwell*. Even though he had been ſubjected to this Parliament, though he had failed in the Execution of his Deſign, and loſt himſelf by an immoderate Ambition, the King's Affairs would have received no Advantage, as the Parliament was not leſs an Enemy to him than *Cromwell*. What is it therefore that is complained of in regard to the King ? It muſt either be that *Cromwell* was too able a Politician to ſuffer himſelf to be ſupplanted by all the Efforts of the *Royalists* ; or, that after having graſped the Supreme Power, he did not reſtore it to the King, to whom only it belonged. The Meaning of this is, that *Cromwell* did not at once turn *Royalist*, and entirely forſake his Principles. But this Accuſation lies with equal Advantage againſt all the *Independents* and *Prefbyterians*, that is, againſt three Parts in four of the Kingdom, ſince they, no more than *Cromwell*, thought it proper to declare for the King.

As for the *Republicans*, they have not left many Witneſſes, The only *Memoirs* of that Party, which I know of, are thoſe of *Edmond I*

low *. It appears from this Book, that the *Republicans* were enraged against *Cromwell*, and deemed him the most perfidious Man breathing. This is not strange, since he had wrested from their Parliament the Sovereign Power, seized by them without any lawful Authority. But, what was this Parliament, and what its Pretensions? It was an Assembly of *Independents*, *Anabaptists*, *Fanatics*, *Enthusiasts*, and Men of no Religion, who, under Colour of establishing a free Common-wealth, held the Nation in the most grievous Servitude: Who, to confirm their own Authority, had treated their Fellow-Members with unheard of Violence, and dared to embroil their Hands in the Blood of the late King, at a Time when he had almost granted every Thing which his Subjects required of him: Who lastly were industrious to break the Union of the Church, to over-turn all Religion, or introduce the most ridiculous and extravagant one. Was it therefore more eligible for *England* to be governed by these Men, than by so able a Man as *Cromwell*? If then *Cromwell* is blameable, it is not for having dissolved a Parliament, which, assuredly, deserved to continue no longer, and had made a most unnatural Use of the Power it had assumed. But if, after the Dissolution of this Parliament, *Cromwell* had restored the King (for this, in all appearance is what the *Royalists* would have) he had drawn upon himself the Hatred and Curses of all *England*, which at that Time was by no Means disposed to restore the King, let the *Royalists* pretend what they please. He was therefore under a Necessity of doing one of these three Things; either to restore the King, contrary to his own Principles, and to those of the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*; or to abandon the State, and give it up to horrible Anarchy, which must necessarily have been its Fate, had he left Things in the State they were in after the Dissolution; or to take the Administration

* Hence 'tis plain *Rapin* never saw *Whitlock*.

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illustration of the Government upon himself; unless he had charged some other Person with it, which in respect of the Justice of the Action had been the same. Let it now be examined what was most Advantageous for *England* in the Circumstances it was then under, and whether it was not better that he should take upon himself the Government, than attempt a Restoration, which he could never have effected by the Army (and he had no other Means) so indevoted to the King, to say nothing of the Opposition he would have met with from both *Republicans* and *Presbyterians*. Supposing then that he was in the Right to dissolve the Parliament, was it not better for him to assume the Government, than give up the State to a fatal Anarchy? Those who pretend that he had long before laid the Design of his Elevation, speak only by Conjecture. They reflect not that he had never seen himself in a Condition to form a Design of that Nature before the Battle of *Worcester*; nor that the Parliament dissolved by him had, in seeking to get rid of him, put him under a Necessity to destroy them for his own Preservation.

But what is never to be justified in his Conduct is, his throwing himself from the Beginning of the Parliament into a desperate Faction; which aimed at the Ruin of *Church and State*; his putting himself afterwards at the Head of that Faction, directing their Motions, and having the greatest Share in all the Violences put upon the Parliament and the King. This nevertheless is slightly touched, because such Behaviour is so common to all the *Independent* Faction; and yet it is, in my Opinion, the only just Charge which can be brought against him, and from which it is hardly possible to clear him.

The second Charge against him is, his excessive Dissimulation; but here we are to distinguish. If it is true, as is pretended, though without Proof, that he carried his Dissimulation so far as to mock God and Religion, by the Pretence of a Piety and Devotion which he had not, and by long Prayers

full of hypocritical Zeal: If it is true that his Mouth uttered what his Heart never meant, no Man ought to endeavour to vindicate him. But all the World knows his strong Byass to *Entbusiasm*, and who can affirm that it was rather out of Hypocrisy than real Persuasion? Men are not slightly to be arraigned, for the inward Motions of the Heart, which pass all Humane Knowledge. His Dissimulation made use of to govern the several Parties, all equally Enemies to him, has nothing, that I can see, greatly blameable in it, unless it was a Crime in him not to put it in the Power of his Enemies to destroy him with the greatest Ease. I shall lay before the Reader some of the Methods made use of by him, to maintain himself in his Dignity, which will help to discover with what Justice *Cromwell* is reproached on the Article of Dissimulation.

The Parliament dissolved by him was composed of *Independents*, *Republicans*, *Entbusiasts*, or *Fifth-Monarchy-Men*. If this Parliament had continued longer, Things would have been carried to the last Extremity. The Pulling down of the Churches, the Clergy, and of every Thing which was capable to preserve the Union of a National Church, was the common Topick of Discourse amongst these People. The *Presbyterians*, not ignorant of this, were in continual Apprehensions of their executing their Designs. So that the Dissolution of this Parliament was counted a happy and fortunate Thing for them. *Cromwell*, Burnet's History of his own Times. to gain their Confidence, promised the Support and Maintenance of their Ministry on the foot of the present Establishment, and kept his Word, though he was far enough from being *Presbyterian*. By this Means the *Presbyterians* were kept firm to his Interest, out of a dread of falling again under the Tyranny of the *Independents*.

The *Republican* Faction had two sorts of Men, whom it was very difficult to govern. The one were *Deists*, or Men who were very indifferent as to Religion, and only wanted a perfect Liberty in the Civil-

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Civil-Government. The others were *Enthusiasts*, who expected every Day the coming of the Reign of *Jesus Christ* upon Earth. These were the most difficult to manage, as no Reason took Place with them if it thwarted their mad and impetuous Zeal. *Cromwell's* accepting the *Protectorship* was considered by them as a Step towards the Throne, and they were such Enemies to the regal Authority, as to esteem Kings so many *Antichrists*, and Enemies of *Christ's* Reign upon Earth. *Cromwell* found Means so artfully to divide them, that all Combinations betwixt them for the Ruin of his Authority became impossible. To the *Deists* he made himself Merry with the extravagant Zeal of the *Fanatics*, and to these he talked of the others as Men who were *Atheists* and *Infidels*. But as the *Enthusiasts* were the more obstinate and ungovernable, he hinted to some of them, that he would much rather have turned Shepherd, than taken upon him the Burthen of the *Protectorate*, had it not been to prevent every Thing from running into Confusion: That he would resign this Dignity with more cheerfulness than he had accepted it, as soon as Things were brought to any Order and Settlement: But nothing went more against his Inclination, and Principles, than a Grandour which obliged him to assume an outward shew of Superiority over the Companions of his Labours and Services for the Publick. To convince them more fully of what he said, he frequently called them into his Closet, and, the Door shut, made them sit covered, and enter into a Freedom and a Familiarity with him, as if he had been conversing with his Equals. Commonly the Conversation ended with a long Prayer, which himself uttered before and with them. It is not to be doubted but Dissimulation had a great share in this Behaviour; the Question is, whether it was so Criminal as is pretended.

He had likewise Chaplains of all the *Sects* and *Factions*. And in giving Hints sometimes to one, sometimes to another, that he was, by no Means, irreconcilable

irreconcilable to their Principles; every Faction had hopes of a Change favourable to its own Interests. 1658.

He had Spies industriously dispersed amongst all the Factions, and was fully informed from them of whatever was transacting against either his Person or Government. Amongst others, he gained Sir *Richard Willis*, Chancellor *Hyde's* Agent for conveying the King's Orders to his Friends in *England*. All the *Royalists* had a Confidence in *Willis*, who they knew received his Orders from the King's first Minister, and yet he betrayed them. But to keep the Correspondence more secret, *Willis* had an Assurance from *Cromwell*, that no Informations from him should be otherwise made use of than to disconcert the Measures of his Enemies, without bringing one of them to Punishment, or even to Imprisonment, unless for a short Space, and on other Pretences. By that Means he defeated their Designs against him, as if accidentally; by committing them to Prison for supposed Crimes, and releasing them when he had no more to fear from their Conspiracies.

Burnet's History of his own Times, p. 66.

He sometimes gave Intimations of a Willingness to treat with the King. Probably his Design was to engage the *Royalists* in an Offer of Propositions which would have given him an Opportunity to amuse them, and prevented any Conspiracies against his Person; for he had Information from several Parts, of Designs laid to assassinate him. He therefore affected, *Ibid. p. 65.* in Publick, to speak of Assassinations with the utmost Detestation, and to declare it was a Way which he would never begin; but if any Attempt was made against him, and miscarried, he should no longer scruple to put it in Practice, and that he was neither destitute of proper Persons for the Undertaking, nor of Money to reward them. This Declaration kept the *Royalists* in awe, they being apprehensive of having the Mischief, intended against *Cromwell*, fall either upon their own Heads, or those of the King and Royal Family.

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If this Conduct of *Cromwell* is considered impartially, it will, without doubt, appear that *Cromwell's* Diffimulation and Artifices for his own Preservation, were not so Criminal as they have been represented. The extreme Passion with which they have been mentioned, is more owing to their Success in frustrating the Designs of his Enemies, than to any other Motive. The Diffimulation of Queen *Elizabeth* has been greatly magnified, though the Inducement to it was no other than that to *Cromwell's*, her own Preservation.

The third and last Charge which lies against *Cromwell* is, that of Cruelty, for having, whilst he was *Protector*, put some Men to Death, who had conspired against his Person and Government. The Meaning of which is, that his Enemies would have had him sit with folded Arms, and with no Notice taken of Conspiracies against him; but that, as one had miscarried, Liberty should have been given for the Tryal of a second and a third, till some one had succeeded. This deserves no Confutation. But to put it out of doubt, that *Cromwell* was not for an unnecessary Effusion of Blood, we need only recite what is owned by the Earl of *Clarendon* in his History, and received, he assures us, from good Hands. And it is this: When the Army-Officers, in a Council, had proposed a general Massacre of the *Royalists*, the Execution of so horrible a Design was both warmly opposed and prevented by *Cromwell*.

Clarend.
VI. p. 653.

To finish *Cromwell's* Character, I will add, that in the Beginning of the *Long-Parliament*, he was *Presbyterian*: After that he threw himself into the *Independent* Faction, so as to become one of their Leaders, and to affect the Reputation of being an *Enthusiast*. But after he was made *Protector*, he was neither *Presbyterian*, *Independent*, *Republican*, nor *Enthusiast*. As he had all these different Factions to manage, all equally Enemies to him, he was under a Necessity to behave with Indifference and Impartiality

lity to each in particular, and this Management furnishes convincing Proofs of his great Abilities. 1658.

It is nevertheless certain that *Cromwell* was greatly hated, while he lived, by all the Parties then in *England*, though they could not help both fearing and esteeming him. But if it is considered that the Prejudices against him are not now near so strong as they were then, it will be found that Interest was at the Bottom of the Hatred which his Enemies had of him, and which arose principally from his Ability to disconcert the Measures and Designs of all the Factions. The general Hatred is pointed singly at his principal Action; that is to say, the Usurpation of the Government, which equally disgusted *Royalists*, *Presbyterians*, and *Republicans*. The *Royalists* saw their Hopes more desperate than ever of the King's Restoration. The *Presbyterians* had no longer any hopes of seeing themselves once more superiour, by their Intrigues in Parliament, after the Dissolution. The *Republicans* were enraged to see the Supreme Power, which they had grasped, wrested from them. It is therefore not at all surprizing, that he has fallen under so much Censure. As all the People of *England*, or, which is the same, the Three Factions, had an equal Interest to asperse and defame him; it was not the Enormity of the Action which gave the Offence, but the Disappointment which each Faction met with in their Hopes by his Elevation. This has drawn from a Number of Writers Expressions so injurious to his Memory. Observe how Lord *Clarendon* speaks of him, and his Usurpation. *Without doubt no Man with more Wickedness ever attempted any thing, or brought to pass what he desired more wickedly, more in the Face and Contempt of Religion, and moral honesty. Yet Wickedness, great as his, could never have accomplished those Designs, without the Assistance of a great Spirit, an admirable Circumspection and Sagacity, and a most magnanimous Resolution.* It is easily seen that this Wickedness is referred purely to his Usurpation of the Government. *In a Word* (continues

Clarend.
VI p.649.

1658.

the same Author') as he was guilty of many Crimes, against which Damnation is denounced, and for which Hell-Fire is prepared, so he had some good Qualities which have caused the Memory of some Men in all Ages to be celebrated, and he will be looked upon by Posterity as a brave wicked Man. Here the Author, no doubt, has an Eye to the Murder of Charles I, in which Cromwell had too deep a Share, and is not to be justified by me. I shall only observe, that this Accusation is not peculiar to him, but in common with the whole Independent-Parliament.

To form a just and reasonable *Idea* of Cromwell's Character, his Conduct and Actions are to be examined, and compared with the Conjecture of the Times, independently of the Opinion of his Enemies. We have no other Writers who have transmitted to us the History of that Period besides the *Royalists*, who have laid down certain Principles, by which he is condemned. But, it is to be observed, these Principles were not generally received, in *England*, during his Life. What can never be excused in him, is the Death of Charles I, which he promoted with his whole Power and Interest, and will remain an indelible Blot upon his Memory. Another Principle, and of which he made great use, is likewise to be condemned in him: And this was, that *Moral Laws* obliged Men only in their ordinary Conduct, and might be dispensed with on great and extraordinary Occasions, which is absolutely false. His Usurpation of the Government has already been considered, and the Reader is left to his Judgement. I shall only observe, that the Confusion which prevailed in *England*, soon after the Death of Cromwell, clearly evidenced the Necessity of this Usurpation,

Ibid.

In general it is not to be denied, that Cromwell was one of the greatest Men of his Age, who could thus, without any Distinction from Birth or Fortune rise so near a Throne, that it was in his own Power to have mounted it. History furnishes very few instances of this kind.

Cromwell

Cromwell's Death was followed with so many Alterations in the Government, that the Time, betwixt that and the Restoration, may be justly called a Period of true Anarchy. *Cromwell* should have had a Successor like himself, to finish what he had so ably begun. But two so great Men are not commonly found so near together; nor often in the same Age.

In the last Days of his Illness *Cromwell* was twice asked, by his Friends, in nearest Confidence with him, what was his Will with relation to his Successor; to which, without Hesitation, he as often answered, that it was his Desire to be succeeded by his eldest Son *Richard*. He had nevertheless, in the time of his Protectorship, signed an Instrument by which he appointed *Fleetwood* his Son-in-law to succeed him; but in all probability this Instrument was burnt by him, for it could never be found. An Hour after his Death, the Privy-Council met, and upon the Report made of the Will of the Deceased, as also upon the Instrument of Government empowering them to chuse a Protector, they elected *Richard Cromwell* without any Opposition. *Fleetwood* himself gave up before them, all Right which he might pretend to from the Instrument made in his Favour, in case it should be found. Immediately after, the Lord-Mayor of London was acquainted with the Election, and the Day following *Richard* was proclaimed Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland. The same Proclamation was made in all the principal Towns of the Three Nations without the least Opposition. On the contrary Addresses poured in to *Richard* from all Parts, signed by many Thousands of Hands, all congratulating his Accession to the Dignity of Protector, with Assurances of Lives and Fortunes cheerfully devoted to maintain and support his Title. But such Addresses are not always to be depended upon, Experience having often shewn that they are far from being sincere, though delivered in the strongest and most expressive Terms. Thus *Richard* was installed Successor to his Father *Oliver*, and took

Richard Cromwell succeeds his Father.
Baker, P. 635.

Receives Addresses from all Parts.
Clarend. VI p. 656.
Cook, Ch. III. p. 21.

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Endea-
vours to
gain the
Friendship
of Monk.

Burnet's
History of
his own
Times.
Clarendon
in several
Places of
his History,

Baker,
P. 636.

Sends
Clarges to
him.

the same Oath. The first Care of the new *Protector*, after his Installation, was to engage *Monk*, Governour of *Scotland*, in his Interests. After the voluntary Submission of *Fleetwood* his Brother-in-law, of *Desborough* his Uncle, and all the Officers of the Army, as well *Republicans* as *Presbyterians*, he seemed to have nothing to apprehend or fear from *England*. *Henry Cromwell* his Brother, then Governour of *Ireland*, held that Island in a peaceable Subjection. *Scotland* therefore only remained to be secured to his Interests. *Monk* had always continued in Command in that Kingdom, from the Time that he finished the Reduction of it. He so well managed the *Scots* sometimes by Rigour, and sometimes by the mildest Treatment, but chiefly by the exact Discipline of his Army, that he acquired an universal Esteem and Affection amongst them, who were never more happy than under his Government, though the Earl of *Clarendon* insinuates that it was all a Tyranny, which seems to have no other Foundation, but that of his having put it out of the Power of the *Scots* to withdraw their Obedience from the Parliament or the *Protector*, by Forts erected in convenient Places. However that be, it is certain that *Monk* was Master of *Scotland*, and that *Cromwell* himself would have found it no easy Attempt to have wrested that Government out of his Hands. Many blamed the Confidence which *Cromwell* reposed in *Monk*, as he had born Arms for the late King, and only engaged on the Side of the Parliament, to free himself from the Confinement he had been under since the Battle of *Nantwich*, where he was made Prisoner. It was, perhaps, for these Suspicions that *Richard* thought himself obliged to leave nothing unattempted which might secure him to his Interests. For this Purpose, knowing the Esteem and Affection which *Monk* had for *Clarges* his Brother-in-law, he dispatched him to him to desire his Friendship. But this *Clarges*, as well as *Monk*, had been zealously attached to the King, and still continued so in his Heart, though

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outward Behaviour was suited to the Times. Wherefore, in the Discharge of this Commission, he took an Opportunity to try his Inclinations to the King, and easily found he was by no Means his Enemy. From this time *Monk* and *Clarges* held a strict Correspondence. *Clarges* informed *Monk* of the Transactions at *London*, and in all appearance had the King's Interests then in view, though he thought it not yet proper to explain himself to *Monk*, who was a Man very reserved. *Clarges*, agreeably to his Instructions, acquainted *Monk* with the Esteem which the new *Protector* had for him, in which he complied with the Sentiments of *Oliver* his Father, who had expressly charged him to be directed in all Things by him. *Monk* made no difficulty to submit to *Richard's* Government. He obligingly acknowledged the Honour he had done him, and in general told him, that having no particular Advice to give him, by reason of his Distance, he only recommended to him the Encouraging a learned, pious, and moderate Ministry in the Church, the Preventing the Meeting of Officers in Council, a Liberty which they had too often abused, and the making himself Master of the Army.

Monk submits to Richard.

The *Protector Richard* had, as I said before, the Pleasure of receiving Addresses from Buroughs, Cities, and Counties, to the Number of Fourscore and Ten, and afterwards he had the like Compliments paid him from all the Regiments, not one excepted. So that he had reason to believe his Power to be sufficiently established. In this Interval, Preparations were making for *Oliver's* Funeral, which was solemnized with great Magnificence, large Sums of Money being borrowed for that Occasion by the new *Protector*. After the Ceremonies usually paid to deceased Sovereign Princes, his Body was deposited in *Henry VII's* Chapel, amongst those of the Kings and Queens of *England*.

Other Addresses to Richard from the Army. Baker, p. 636. Cook, Ch. III. p. 71. Oliver's Funeral. Baker, Cook, Clarend. The different Factions, consecutive hopes from Richard's Advancements.

Although the late *Protector* was both careful and able to preserve himself amidst the Factions then reigning

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reigning in *England*, and to keep them in Subjection, it was not however in his Power to extinguish them. After he was taken out of the World, every Faction conceived Hopes of gaining a Superiority under the Protectorate of *Richard*, who had by no means the Capacity of his Father, and to these Hopes probably was owing their ready Concurrence in declaring him *Protector*. The *Royalists* with Reason flattered themselves, that the different Factions of their Enemies, having no longer a common Head capable to hold them in subjection, would disunite, and so bring some Advantage to the King's Affairs : And, it might be, assist towards his Restoration. Those who had approved of the Government lodged in the single Person of the deceased *Protector*, and were the Persons in whom he reposed the greatest Confidence, hoped to preserve the same Credit under the Son, which they had enjoyed under the Father, and to be able to influence and direct him according to their own Humours. These were the principal Members of the Council, though they had amongst them a Mixture of *Republicans* and *Fanaticks*.

The *Roya-*
lists.

The *Re-*
publicans.

If the *Republicans* consented to acknowledge *Richard*, it was because they were unprepared to make any Opposition. The Army, chiefly composed of this Faction, being dispersed in several Counties, the Officers had neither Time nor Opportunity to meet and consult together. But they despaired not of finding an Occasion to displace the new *Protector*, and to restore the Common-wealth upon the Foot it stood before the Year 1653, when *Oliver* dissolved the Parliament which had formed it.

The *Ana-*
baptists.

The *Anabaptists* were to a Man in the *Republican* Faction, because they well knew the Impossibility of raising their *Fifth-Monarchy* under a *Protector*. They were the most zealous and fervent *Republicans*, and the most difficult to be managed, on account of their singular Notions, which brought all Things to the Test of their extravagant Religion, and rendered the

them Deaf to any Thing which could be suggested, 1658.
if it clashed in the least with their Principles.

There was another Set of *Republicans* who, with- *The Re-*
out any Regard to Religion, were governed by Views *publican*
merely Political. They were accused of having no *Deists.*
Religion, or properly speaking of being *Deists*.

As to the *Presbyterians*, who were in great Num- *The Pres-*
bers dispersed over *England* and *Ireland*, besides the *byterians.*
Scots, who were almost all of this *Seet*, they had re-
tained still the same Principles, without any Varia-
tion, from the Time that they had been forced from
the Parliament in 1648. They were not disinclined
to receive the King with a limited Power, and the
established *Presbyterian-Government* secured to the
Church from all Attempts. This Principle had al-
ways kept them separate from the other Factions,
and allowed them to unite neither with the *Royalists*,
who would endure neither any Limitation upon the
King's Power, nor their Church-Government; or
with the *Republicans*, who would neither suffer a
King nor a *Protector*. Besides, these last granted an
entire Liberty to all Sects which had joined with the
Independent-Party, a Liberty which was inconsistent
with the Principles of the *Presbyterians*. For, though
the *Presbyterians* had under the Reigns of *Elizabeth*,
James I, *Charles I*, greatly complained of the Denial
of an entire Freedom for the publick Profession of
their Religion, yet they were by no Means inclined
to grant the same Liberty which themselves had de-
manded. Nevertheless as their Number was confi-
derable, and a Leader might one Day be found ca-
pable to conduct and manage their Affairs, the de-
ceased Protector found it proper for his Interests to
keep in good Terms with them, and preserve their
Government in the Church as it was established;
but without compulsion upon any Person to conform
to it. This Moderation kept the *Presbyterians* quiet
under the Government of *Oliver Cromwell*, and the
more so, as they could expect no Assistance from the
Army as it was then modelled. But their Separation
from

1658-9. *Secondly*, He proposed to bring the Army to a Dependence upon him by proper and suitable Means.

His Friends whom he consulted on this Occasion were Self-interested, and attached to him only in Hopes of governing all in his Name. They apprehended the *Protector's* Proposal might be prejudicial to themselves, and thought that an absolute Power gained to him, might make them the first Sufferers. He therefore found a strong Opposition from these pretended Friends. Instead of approving his Design, they advised him to call into his Council two Colonels, who were entirely in the Interest of the *Republican* Faction. Nor was this all; some of the leading Officers of the Army were informed of the *Protector's* Designs, and this was sufficient to make them look about them. *Fleetwood* his Brother-in-law, and *Desborrow* his Uncle, were the most forward to combine against him, and caballed with the Officers to deprive him of the Generalship of the Army, which they were empowered to do by the *Instrument of Government*. But in all likelihood they would never have thought of using this Power, if *Richard* had not discovered his Intentions of being absolute Master of the Army, and putting himself in a Condition not to want their Assistance. Nevertheless, as the Army lay dispersed, and a Consultation of the Officers was necessary, to bring them to act in concert for the Preservation of their Authority, and the opposing the *Protector's* Designs, a Snare was laid for him, in which he suffered himself to be taken. It was insinuated that the Parliament which was going to sit might prove dangerous to his Authority, should they be less tractable than he desired; and therefore it was necessary for him to fortify himself with a good Number of Officers, as well to consult them on any Emergency, as to let the Parliament see that he was supported by the Army, which could not but produce a good Effect. *Richard* persuading himself that this Advice proceeded from Zeal which the Givers of it had for his Service,

The Principal Officers of the Army combine against him.
Baker,
p. 627.

Advise him to call a great Number of Officers; so London. Ibid. Ibid.

could not but produce a good Effect. *Richard* persuading himself that this Advice proceeded from Zeal which the Givers of it had for his Service,

easily suffered himself to be brought to issue out his Orders to every Regiment for the sending up to London such Officers as could be spared. This Order was punctually executed, and immediately a great Number of Officers appeared in London, who formed amongst them a Council which frequently met, and assumed the Title of the *Great Council of the Army*. 1658.9. *These Officers formed a great Council.*

Besides this Great Council, some Members of the Privy-Council, and Officers of the Army met at *Desborrow's House*, as well to consult how to deprive *Richard* of the Generalship, as to direct the Great Council, which being composed of Numbers of inferior Officers, had need of being directed in their Deliberations. The Result of this Council was, that *Desborrow* attended with many Officers waited on the Protector with a Petition, "That no Officer or Soldier should be turned out but by Sentence of a Council of War. That no Member of the Army should be proceeded against capitally, otherwise than by the Martial Law : And lastly, That the Army might have Power to chuse their own General". As nothing was more contrary to the Designs of *Richard* than this Demand, he peremptorily rejected it, and threatened even to cashier them if they persisted to make him any more such Proposals. *Offer & Petition to the Protector.*
Ibid. Ibid.
Cook, Ch. III. p. 72.

The Parliament being met the 27th of January, it was immediately debated in the *Lower-House*, by what Right the *Scots* and *Irish* sent Representatives to the *English* Parliament. The Authority of the *other House* was likewise taken into Consideration, and Objections made against it, which had been started in *Oliver's* last Parliament. As there were a good many *Republicans* in the *House of Commons*, great Endeavours were used to suppress this *other House*, for fear of its rising at last into a *House of Lords*, and opposing the Re-establishment of the Common-wealth, which was the Object of their most ardent Wishes. The Debates upon these two Articles held two entire *He rejects it.*
The Parliament meets,
Jan. 27.
Clarend. VI.
Baker, Cook, Ch. III. p. 72.
Debates about the Scotch and Irish Members, and the other House.
Decisen.

1658-9. tire Months, and it was not before the 28th of *March* that a Plurality of Voices carried it for the Continuation of the *other House*, and the Privilege of sitting in the *House of Commons* to the *Scotch and Irish* Representatives. After that, the Parliament made an Act to recognize *Richard Cromwell* for *Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland*.

An Act to recognize Richard.

Petition of the Officers in favour of Fleetwood,

1659.
April 6.
Baker,
p. 637.

Rejected by the Protector. Clarend. VI. p. 533. Vote of the Commons against the Officers
Baker,
Cook, Ch.
III. p. 72.

The Officers force the Protector to dissolve the Parliament.
Clarend.

VI. p. 235.
Baker,
p. 641.
Cook, Ch.
III p. 73.

While these Things were transacting in Parliament, the Great Council of Officers held at *Fleetwood's House*, and the private Council which met at *Desborough's* continued their Conferences. At last they presented a *Petition* to the *Protector*, whereby they demanded *Fleetwood* for their General. This was a direct Intention to deprive the *Protector* of the Command of the Army, to which he could not consent, without exposing himself to the Caprices of the principal Officers, who directed and influenced the Army just as they pleased. Wherefore, instead of returning a favourable Answer to their Petition, he spoke to them in an angry Tone, ordered them to dissolve their Council, and return to their respective Quarters. On the other Hand, the *House of Commons* not ignorant that the Officers were upon some Design which might be prejudicial to the Parliament, voted against the holding any Council of Officers during the Session of the Parliament; and that no Person should have any Employ in the Army, till he had taken an Oath not to disturb the Deliberations of the Parliament. Immediately after, these Votes were sent to the *other House*, now called the *Upper-House*, for their Concurrence. But as the Officers were most prevalent there, they believed it was no part of their Duty to contradict what their Comrades without Doors had resolved upon. So that the Votes of the *Commons* were no more able, than the Orders of the *Protector*, to dissipate the Councils of the Officers who still continued to meet.

At last, on the 22d of *April*, *Richard* had Notice that the Officers were come to a Resolution of forcing him to dissolve the Parliament. He immediately assembled

affembled his Council to prevent, by their Advice, this Attempt. Some were of Opinion that he ought to give a peremptory Denial to any such Demand, and keep close to his Parliament, as the only Support which he had left. But no Body put him in the Way to defend himself against the Officers, who began to meet together in the Neighbourhood of *Whiteball*, and would probably have been too strong for any Opposition from his Guards. Others advised him to leave *Whiteball*, and suffer the Officers to do as they pleased with the Parliament, without interesting himself at all in the Dispute; but the Officers, who had foreseen that he might probably take this Method, were before-hand with him, and had seized all the Avenues about *Whiteball*, and made his Escape impracticable. In short, every Man proposed Expedients, to which others objected insuperable Difficulties. While the Court was thus fluctuating, *Desborrow*, with a strong Retinue, demanded an Audience of the *Protector*, and required him, in the Name of the Officers, to dissolve the Parliament, *Richard* at first refused to grant this Demand; but he was given to understand that his Refusal would be attended with Danger to himself, and that, in fine, they were resolved to obtain, by fair Means or foul, what they demanded. In short, *Richard*, who, before *Desborrow* came, was incapable of taking any Resolution, was now less able to consider of what was to be done, when he was surrounded with Men who shewed but little Regard for his Authority. He therefore promised to dissolve the Parliament by Commission under the Great Seal. But as the Commons, having been informed of what was doing, had adjourned themselves for three Days, a Proclamation was issued out to declare the Parliament dissolved.

Clarend.
Baker,
Cook.

From this Time *Richard* was no longer regarded, though he still bore the Title of *Protector*. The Officers looked on him as an impotent disarmed Enemy, incapable to do them any Hurt; so that he lost on a sudden the Support of the Parliament, without

Richard
loses all his
Credit.

1659. out gaining that of the Army. This is what cannot be denied. But those who imagine, that if he had stood by the Parliament, he would have engaged the People in his Interests, and been supported by *Monk* and his Army, go upon a very uncertain Supposition. Besides, had he any Power to refuse a Dissolution of the Parliament, without hazarding his own Life? And could he have supported himself against the Violences of the Army, till a sufficient Aid had come to his Relief? Be this as it will, after the Parliament was dissolved, the great Council of Officers thought themselves impowered to settle the Government on their own Model, without taking any Notice of the *Protector*, who was now regarded only as a private Person *. This *Anarchy* continued only the few Days that were necessary for the Officers to confirm their Election of *Fleetwood* for their General. They discharged by their own Authority five Colonels, who had advised *Richard* to stand by the Parliament; namely, *Ingoldsby*, *Goff*, *Whaley*, Lord *Falconbridge* Brother-in-law to *Richard*, and *Howard* afterwards Earl of *Carlisle*, and at the same Time restored *Lambert* and others discharged by *Cromwell* a little before his Death. After this they deliberated upon a Form of Government, it being impossible for Things to continue long in their present State.

The Officers seize the Government.
Baker.

Choose Fleetwood for their General, and discharge several Colonels.
Clarend.
Baker,
Cook.

Lambert's Designs.

Lambert was a Man of immoderate Ambition, and would not have scrupled to have trod in the Steps of *Oliver*, had the Conjuncture seemed favourable to his Wishes. But *Fleetwood* being his General, and the Idol of the Army, he could hope for no Success from an Attempt to put himself at the Head of the Government.

* *Ludlow* says, one great Offence given by *Richard* to the nation was, by his Irreligion: For an Officer having murmured at the Advancement of Persons, who had been *Cavaliers*, to Commissions in the Army, was brought to *Whirehall* to answer for *Richard*, in a deriding Manner, asked him, "Whether he would have him prefer none but those that were Godly? Here, continued he, is *Dick Ingoldsby*, who can neither Pray nor Preach, and yet I will trust him before you all. *Lud. Mem.* Vol. II. p. 6.

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vernment. He therefore thought it best to wait for a more favourable Opportunity, and in the mean Time to keep *Fleetwood* at a distance from the Supreme Power, whether under the Name of *Protector*, or any other Title, which he had several Reasons to believe he was aiming at. First, *Cromwell* had once named him for his Successor by an Instrument under his own Hand, and many believed this Instrument had been artfully conveyed out of the Way, either during *Cromwell's* Life, or shortly after his Death, that it might give no hindrance to the Election of *Richard*. It was even said, that *Cromwell's* Nomination of his Son in the Time of his Illness, was only the Contrivance of Secretary *Thurlow* and another Person, to make the Succession fall upon *Richard*. Secondly, *Fleetwood* was one of the most zealous *Enthusiasts*, of whom the Officers of the Army were composed, and was therefore looked upon with Veneration by the Soldiers, and judged more worthy to be *Cromwell's* Successor. Thirdly, it was almost out of doubt that the Interest of the Army lay in the Choice of a *Protector* who should equally depend on, and support their Credit and Authority. This was *Lambert's* Thought. But as it was not for his Interest to have *Fleetwood* raised to a Dignity to which himself aspired, when the Times should favour him, he under-hand secured and engaged Colonel *Lilburn* to break *Fleetwood's* Measures, if they pointed to the Protectorship, by his Intrigues amongst the inferiour Officers, whilst himself by his Court to him, and his Adulations, endeavoured to make himself Master of his Affections, as *Cromwell* had before done by *Fairfax*. This Example made *Lambert* hope to see himself one Day at the Head of the Government, by the same Practices which had raised *Cromwell*.

Lambert carrying on his Designs with the greatest Secrecy, *Fleetwood*, as General, called his Officers together to *Wallingford-House* to settle the Government. The superiour Officers came, but at the same

1659. Time the inferiour ones, by the Intrigues of *Lambert* and *Lilburn* met at *St. James's* in far greater Numbers. Baker, p. 642. In this Assembly the Regulation of the Government was likewise the Subject of their Debates, on which occasion some of the most leading Men, and the best Speakers, enlarged much upon the Happinefs which *England* enjoyed under the Administration of the Parliament from the 6th of *December* 1648; to the 20th of *April* 1653, when it was dissolved by *Cromwell*. Their Prudence, Courage, and happy Success in *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and in the *Dutch War* were magnified; and these Men gave it as their Opinion, that nothing could be more Advantageous to the Nation, than the Re-establishment of this Parliament*.

The Officers come to a Resolution of restoring the Parliament dissolved by Cromwell in 1653. Baker, p. 643. This Deliberation was then pursued no farther; but it served to let the Assembly at *Wallingford-House* see the Danger to both Sides of a Rupture amongst the Officers, and convinced them of the Necessity of joining with the inferiour Officers in restoring the *Long-Parliament*. It is not well known what were the Views of the chief Officers with regard to the Government; but it is certain, that the Proposal of the inferiour Officers was contrary neither to the Principles nor the Sentiments of the Army in general. This will not be difficult to comprehend, when it is considered that the Officers and Soldiers, for the most Part, were *Independents*, *Anabaptists*, *Enthusiasts*, *Republicans*, such in a manner as were the Members of

* *Whitlock* says, upon the Dissolution of the Parliament, all Matters were at a Stand; the Army had Thoughts of raising Money without a Parliament; but upon Advice, they durst not adventure upon it, but thought it a safer Way to restore the Members of the *Long-Parliament*. The Great Officers of the Army were advised to consider better of their Design of bringing in the Members of the *Old Parliament*, who were most of them discontented for their being formerly broken up by *Cromwell*, and did distaste the Proceedings of the Army; and whether this would not probably more increase the Divisions, and end in bringing in the King; but the Officers had resolved on it. *Whit. Mem.* p. 678.

of the Parliament dissolved in 1653, and now proposed to be restored. However this be, all the Officers in concert declared for the *Good Old Cause*, by which they meant, *That* supported by the Parliament, which brought the King to the Scaffold, and turned the Monarchy into a Common-wealth. It was therefore resolved in a *General Council* held at *Fleetwood's House* to restore the *Long-Parliament*. 1659.

But as this Parliament had no Reason to be pleased with the Army, which, in 1653, sided with Cromwell against them, the Great Officers were afraid, that when the Members were restored to their Authority, they would think of being revenged. Besides, they well knew the Resolution and Firmness of these Members, who would infallibly keep the Army in a State of Subjection. The Officers therefore judged it absolutely necessary, before they proceeded farther, to demand certain Conditions, and to secure before-hand the compliance of the Parliament, when they should resume their antient Authority. For this Purpose they had some previous Conferences with some of the Members, who had, as it were, influenced and directed the whole House; and these were *Vane, Haslerig, Scot, Solway*, who were to engage and promise a Concession of the Conditions proposed by the Officers. But these Members would come into no Engagements of this Nature, it not belonging to them, they pretended, to preclude the Resolutions of the Parliament. This Refusal rendered them suspected to the superiour Officers; but the others, far more in Number, were not at all uneasy at it, and contented themselves with a verbal Promise from these four Members, of their using their Endeavours for the obtaining a Grant of these Conditions.

Things being thus settled, *Lambert* at the Head of a considerable Number of Officers, repaired to the House of *Lentbal*, Speaker to the *Long-Parliament*, and laid before him the Declaration of the Great Council of the Officers, by which the Members of *The Parliament dissolved in 1653. is restored, May 8.*

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“ 4. That all *Laws, Ordinances, Declarations, and Establishments* made in the several *Changes and Alterations of Government* that have been in these Nations, since the 19th of *April* aforesaid, and not as yet particularly repealed, be deemed good in Law, until particularly repealed.

“ 5. That such Debts as have been contracted for the Publick Service and Affairs of this Commonwealth, and for the Charges of the Government, since the 20th of *April* 1653, be carefully paid and satisfied.

“ 6. That all Persons who profess Faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his Eternal Son the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, God Co-equal with the Father and the Son, one God blessed for ever; and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the *Old and New Testament*, to be the revealed or written Word or Will of God, shall not be restrained from their Profession, but have due Incouragement, and equal Protection in the Profession of their Faith, and Exercise of their Religion, whilst they abuse not their Liberty to the civil Injury of others, or Disturbance of others in their way of Worship: So that this Liberty be not extended to *Popery or Prelacy*, nor to such as shall practise or hold forth Licentiousness or Prophaneness under the profession of Religion: And that all Laws, Statutes, or Ordinances, and Clauses in any Laws, Statutes, or Ordinances to the contrary, may be declared null and void.

“ 7. That a godly, faithful, and painful Gospel-preaching Ministry be every where encouraged, countenanced and maintained.

“ 8. That the *Universities and Schools of Learning* be so countenanced and reformed, as that they may become the *Nurseries* of Piety and Learning.

“ 9. That such Persons as have at any Time since the 20th of May 1642, aided, or assisted, or adhered to the late King, *Charles Stuart* his Son, or any other Person or Persons whatsoever of that Party,

" Party, against the Parliament or Common-wealth
 " of *England*, and all other Persons whatsoever that
 " have made use of any Authority or Power under
 " pretence of Law, or otherwise, to deprive or a-
 " bridge any of the good People of these Nations of
 " their Christian Liberty, or have, or shall express
 " themselves in any Way Mockers, Scoffers, or Re-
 " vilers of Godliness, or of the Professors thereof,
 " or are otherways scandalous or loose in their
 " Conversations, or have not given good Satisfacti-
 " on of their Affection and Faithfulness to this
 " Cause, may be speedily removed out of all Places
 " of Power or Trust in the Magistracy, or other
 " Management of the Publick Affairs of these Na-
 " tions; and that no such Persons may be admitted
 " unto any such Place of Power or Trust for the
 " future.

" 10. And forasmuch as no Godly, or other
 " good Interest can be preserved, or maintained,
 " unless the Persons, who are chiefly intrusted with
 " the Management and Exercise of the Government,
 " be of suitable Spirits to those Interests; That
 " those who are or shall be intrusted therein, be such
 " Persons as shall be found to be most Eminent for
 " Godliness, Faithfulness, and Constancy to the good
 " Cause and Interests of these Nations,

" 11. That to the End the Legislative Authority
 " of this Common-wealth may not, by their long
 " sitting, become Burthenfome or Inconvenient, there
 " may be effectual Provision made for a due Succes-
 " sion thereof.

" 12. And for the better Satisfaction, and more
 " firm Union of the Forces of this Common-wealth,
 " in this Juncture of Affairs, for preserving and main-
 " taining the Principles and other Matters there-
 " unto subservient, we do unanimously acknow-
 " ledge and own the Lord *Charles Fleetwood* Lieute-
 " nant-General of the Army, to be Commander in
 " Chief of the Land-Forces of this Common-wealth.

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“ 13. That in Order to the establishing and securing the Peace, Welfare and Freedom of the People of these Nations, for the Ends before expressed, the Legislative Power thereof may be in a Representative of the People, consisting of a House, successively chosen by the People, in such a Way and Manner as this Parliament shall judge meet, and of a select Senate, co-ordinate in Power, of able and faithful Persons, eminent for Godliness, and such as continue adhering to this Cause.

“ 14. That the Administration of all executive Power of Government, may be in a *Council of State*, consisting of a convenient Number of Persons qualified in all Respects as aforesaid.

“ 15. That all Debts contracted by his late Highness, or his Father, since the 15th of December 1653, may be satisfied, and that an honourable Revenue of Ten Thousand Pounds *per Annum*, with a convenient House, may be settled upon him and his Heirs for ever ; and Ten Thousand Pounds *per Annum* more upon him during Life ; and upon his honourable Mother * Eight Thousand Pounds *per Annum* during her Life, to the end a Mark of the high Esteem this Nation hath of the good Service done by his Father, our ever renowned General, may remain to Posterity.”

The Parliament's Answer.
Baker, p. 647.

The Parliament returned an Answer to this Petition, in general Terms, and thanked the Army for their Affection to the Publick. After that, having taken it into Consideration, they approved of all the Articles in general ; but a particular Committee was appointed to examine those which related to the Government. That Part of the Petition which had respect to *Richard Cromwell* and his Mother, was postponed, till his submission to the Government, which

* She was Daughter of Sir *James Bouchier* of *Essex*.

which was just established, should be secured. For this Purpose Commissioners from the Parliament waited on him with the Resolutions of the House, and to require his Submission to the late Change. The Day after Richard returned a written Answer in these Words :

I have perused the Resolve and Declaration which you were pleased to deliver to me the other Night, and for the Information touching what is mentioned in the said Resolve, I have caused a true State of my Debts to be transcribed, and annexed to this Paper, which will shew what they are, and how they were contracted.

The Protector Richard's Submission to the Powers in Being. Baker, p. 647.

As to that Part of the Resolve, whereby the Committee are to inform themselves, how far I do acquiesce in the Government of this Common-wealth as it is declared by this Parliament :

I trust my past Carriage hitherto hath manifested my Acquiescence in the Will and Disposition of GOD, and that I love and value the Peace of this Common-wealth much above my own Concernments; and I desire that by this, a Measure of my future Deportment may be taken, which through the Assistance of GOD shall be such as shall bear the same Witness, having, I hope, in some Degree, learned rather to submit to, and reverence the Hand of GOD, than to be uneasy under it. And (as to the late Providences that have fallen out among us) however, in Respect of particular Engagements that lay upon me, I could not be active in making a Change in the Government of the Nations; yet, through the Goodness of GOD, I can freely acquiesce in it being made; and do hold myself obliged, as (with other Men) I expect Protection from the present Government, so to demean myself with all Peaceableness under it, and to procure to the utmost of my Power, that all in whom I have any Interest do the same.

Richard Cromwell.

When

1659. When the Parliament examined the State of *Richard's* Debts, the Article of Expences for his Father's Funeral was rejected. So that *Richard* was forced to pay the Debt, contracted on this Account, out of his own Estate, which swept away the greatest Part of his Substance, which was by no Means large, considering the High Dignity which his Father had so long enjoyed. As to the Revenue, and the annual Pension desired by the Officers for *Richard* and his Mother, the Parliament referred the Consideration of them to another Opportunity, and contented themselves with assigning two Thousand Pounds for the Payment of his private Debts. The Members had but too just Reason to complain of *Oliver Cromwell* who had deceived, and shamefully dismissed them, to think themselves under any Obligation of paying extraordinary Honours to his Memory, and of heaping so many Benefits upon his Widow and Son. At the same Time that the two Thousand Pounds were granted, he received an Order to quit *Whitehall* in six Days.

Fleetwood appointed General but for one Year only. The Reader may have observed that the Demand in the 12th Article was expressed by the Officers, in a manner, to leave no Liberty to the Parliament of electing a General, or of naming any other than *Fleetwood*, since instead of making a Petition of this Article, they said, *That they unanimously acknowledged the Lord Charles Fleetwood to be Commander in Chief of the Land-Forces of the Common-wealth.* The Parliament thought it not proper to examine the Manner in which this Article was expressed, to prevent any Difference which might arise between themselves and the Army, at a Time when they derived their whole Authority from the Declaration of the Officers who had restored them. *Fleetwood* therefore was appointed Commander in Chief of the Armies of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, but only for a single Year. This Resolution being taken, the Parliament voted that *Fleetwood* should have Power to sign and seal such Commissions, for the Constitution of

of Officers under him, as should be approved by the Parliament, and nominated by Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*, and the Colonels *Lambert*, *Desborough*, *Ludlow*, *Berry*, or the major Part of them who were made Commissioners for that Purpose. But upon the second Reading of the Bill, the Clause empowering *Fleetwood* to sign Commissions was altered, and the Parliament ordered that all Commissions, both to the Commission-Officers of the Army, and the Captains of the Fleet, should be signed by the *Speaker* of the Parliament of the Common-wealth of *England*, to be written by the Clerks attending the Council of State *, and delivered to the Officers gratis by the *Speaker* in the Parliament-House. This was a plain Indication enough, that the Parliament pretended to the whole Merit of advancing the Officers. The same Day the Parliament voted that the Government of *Ireland* should be by Commissioners nominated and appointed by Parliament, and not by one Person, and that *Henry Cromwell* should be acquainted with the Order, and required forthwith to repair to the Parliament. He obeyed without Resistance, though in all probability, if he had been inclined to try his Interest, the new Governours would have found great Difficulties in his Removal. He was extremely beloved in *Ireland*, both by the Army and the *English* Inhabitants, no Person having any Injuries to complain of as received from him, who had on the contrary obliged every Body as far as lay in his Power. But, doubtless, his not being sure of Success, and no Orders received from his Brother for his Conduct, made him unwilling to undertake alone an Affair of that Consequence. All Historians are unanimous in their

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The Parliament orders all Military Commissions to be signed by the Speaker.

Clarend. VI. p. 544.
Baker, lb.
Cook, Ch. 3. p. 74.

Provides for the Government of Ireland, and recalls Henry Cromwell.

Clarend. VI.
Baker, lb.

His good Character.

* The Parliament had named a Council of State for the more immediate executive Power, to which several Gentlemen, not Members of the House, were admitted. *Whitlock* was a Member of this Council. They had also nominated the Judges Commissioners of the Great-Seal: a new one being made different from the old, &c. *Whit.* p. 679.

1659. their Praises of him, and generally believe, that if he had filled the Post of his elder Brother, the Officers would have found him a Match for them, or probably not attempted to use him as they did *Richard*.

The Parli-
ament con-
siders upon
Advantages
to make it
self Master
of the Ar-
my.
Baker, p.
648.

Fleetwood, Desborough, Lambert, and the rest of the principal Officers were by no means pleased with the Steps taken by the Parliament. But knowing that the inferiour Officers, looked on their Dependance on the Parliament as an Advantage to them, they smothered their Resentments, and received their Commissions from *the Speaker*. On the other Hand, it was the Parliament's Opinion that nothing was of more Importance, to their own Interests, than to have the Army in dependance, which they flattered themselves, would inable them to rule peaceably and absolutely, and without doubt, perpetuate their Authority. But till this was done, they plainly saw they were to expect a strong Opposition, considering the restless Temper of the principal Officers, who were endeavouring to make themselves Necessary to prevent their losing their Posts. This therefore was the first, and almost, avowed Design of the Parliament. For this Purpose, the Committee appointed to examine Commissions was continued, which, being well acquainted with the Views of the House, made great Alterations in the Army by vacating the Commissions of such as were suspected, and substituting others of more assured Fidelity. The same Regulation was observed in Regard to the Army commanded by *Monk*, a great many Officers were removed in that Army, and others appointed to succeed them; those that were displaced being Persons in whom *Monk* had the greatest Confidence, *Clarges* had before acquainted *Monk* with these Designs, which were visible enough, and *Monk* had but too much Cause to perceive them, from the Alterations intended to be made by the Committee in the Army of *Scotland*. He writ to the Committee on this Subject, in a manner sufficiently clear, to let them know, that he was not so blind as not to see there
was

was a Design to undermine and shake his Authority. He expressed himself so strongly, in some Parts of his Letter, as to give the Parliament Apprehensions of the Danger of driving a Man to Extremities, who was at the Head of twelve Thousand Men, and had all *Scotland* at his disposal. For this Reason, the Officers appointed by the Committee received Orders not to be too hasty in setting forward for *Scotland*. But this was only to gain Time, in expectation of a more favourable Opportunity.

The 18th of *June* the Parliament voted the Continuation of the Monthly Tax of thirty five Thousand Pounds, imposed by that which sat in the Year 1656. After Commissioners were named for the Civil Government of *Ireland*, and a Commission granted to *Edmond Ludlow* to command the Forces there, who had been one of the King's Judges, and a most zealous *Republican*.

They continue the Monthly Tax upon the three Kingdoms. Baker, p. 649.

In the mean time, the Parliament having received confused Intimations of a Plot carrying on in favour of the King, the *Royalists* had Orders to withdraw twenty Miles from *London*; this Intimation was not groundless. In the Month of *March* of this Year, the King, by a Declaration, had impowered Commissioners to treat in his Name with all those Persons, who having been Enemies either to himself, or his Father, were willing to return to their Obedience. These Commissioners spared neither Pains nor Promises to augment the Number of the King's Friends; and certainly they could not have had a more favourable Opportunity. The whole World was weary of the Tyranny of an *Independent* Parliament consisting of a handful of Men, and of an Army made up chiefly of *Fanatics*, who under colour of promoting Piety, and extending the Reign of *Jesus Christ*, had only their own Advantages in view. The *Presbyterians* themselves, and their Members, who had been drove from the House in 1648, seeing little appearance of ever re-gaining the Ground they had lost, and standing besides exposed to the

A Conspiracy of the Royalists in favour of the King. Baker.

The Presbyterians inclinable to join with them. Cook, Ch. 3. p. 74.

Tyranny

1639. Tyranny of *Independents* and *Fanaticks*, came at last to an Union with the King's Party, to deliver the Nation from the Servitude under which it then groaned: The Particulars and Terms of this Union are not known, because the Historians who speak of it, being all *Royalists*, have not thought fit to do so much Honour to the *Presbyterians*; but no Body can be ignorant that from this Time, the *Presbyterians* no longer appeared amongst the King's Enemies; but on the contrary very much promoted his Restoration, as will afterwards appear.

The Project of an Insurrection. It was in hopes either of Assistance, or, at least, no Opposition from the *Presbyterians*, that the *Royalists* formed the Design of an Insurrection in several Parts of the Nation, hoping that it would at last become general. For this Purpose they intended to seize *Gloucester, Lynn, Plymouth, Exeter, and Chester* at the same time. They believed their Measures were so well concerted as to leave no doubt of Success. For they persisted in their old Way of relying on the Peoples Affection for the King, in which they were often mistaken. Mr. *Mordaunt* crossed the Sea, to inform the King of Matters, who thought the Design so well laid, that he repaired secretly to *Calais**, and then to *St. Malo's* to be nearer *England*, in case the Design succeeded. But this Project vanished into Air like the rest. Sir *Richard Willis* the Betrayer of the King's Party spoke of before, gave Information of the Plot to *Tburlow*, and he to the Council of State, which immediately put the *Militia* in safe Hands, and took all Precautions proper to defeat the Execution. *Massy* was taken in his Attempt to surprize *Gloucester*, but found Means to escape. The Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, and Sir *Horatio Townshend*, who were gone for the *West**† to serve the King, were arrested and committed to Prison. Only Sir *George Booth* had an opportunity of shewing himself,

Sir George
Booth
seizes
Chester,
and publishes a
Manifesto.

* Where he staid some time before he went to *St. Malo's*.

† They undertook to secure *Norfolk* and *Lynn* for the King.

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self, who at the Head of four or five Hundred Men seized *Chester*, and published a *Manifesto* against the Tyranny of the Parliament, without any Mention of the King, intending to make the Publick believe that the Discontents of the People only had obliged him to take up Arms. Sir *Thomas Middleton* joined him with some Troops, but these two united Bodies were so inconsiderable, that *Lambert*, who was sent against them by Order of Parliament, easily defeated them, and re-took *Chester*. Sir *George Booth* had the good Fortune to escape from the first Pursuit, but was taken some Days after in the Habit of a Peasant, and brought to the *Tower of London*. *Middleton* retired to a Castle of his own, which held out but few Days. It did not appear on this Occasion that the People had the Interests of the King much at Heart.

Joined by
Sir Thomas
Middleton.
Defeated
by Lam-
bert.

In the mean while the King's Friends not doubting of Success, had dispatched Mr. *Nicholas Monk*, the General's Brother, and a Minister into *Scotland*, to engage him in their Designs. Some have pretended, that *Monk* full of Hopes, that the King's Party in *England* would succeed, was just putting himself upon his March to support them, but was stopped by the News of *Booth's* Defeat, and forced to feign himself entirely devoted to the Parliament. I cannot easily believe that *Monk's* Intentions of serving the King were so early known: It is not to be denied, that the Parliament looked on him as a Man in whom little Confidence was to be reposed, as his Principles were removed at the greatest Distance from *Fanaticism*, which then infected both Parliament and Army. This Opinion of *Monk* the Parliament plainly shewed immediately after *Booth's* and *Middleton's* Defeat by *Lambert*. For rightly judging that this Victory would keep *Monk* in Awe, the Parliament made no Difficulty to confirm the Charges before intended in the Army of *Scotland*. *Monk* was so offended with this Procedure, that he writ to the *Speaker* to desire his Dismission; but *Clarges* his Brother-in-Law prevailed with the *Speaker* to keep

Monk the
Clergy-
man sent
by the
Royalists
to General
Monk,
August.
Clarend.
VI.
Baker, p.
650.

The Scotch
Army re-
formed by
the Parli-
ament.
which of-
fends
Monk.
Baker, p.
this 653.

1659. this Letter from the Parliament, which, without Doubt, would have made no Difficulty to grant his Request.

The King goes to Fontarabia, September. Clarend. VI. Conferences of the Army-Officers to prevent the Designs of the Parliament. Baker, p. 654.

As the Peace between *France* and *Spain* was to be transacted at *St. Jean de Luz*, between the prime Ministers of the two Crowns, the King believed that his Presence there might be of some Service to him, he therefore departed for *Fontarabia* in September; and crossed the Kingdom of *France Incognito*. I shall speak presently of the Success of this Journey, when I have first given my Reader an Account of the Revolution which happened in *England*.

Lambert thought absent has a great share in them.

The principal Officers of the Army, which kept in *London*, were still highly displeased with the Parliament, as they plainly perceived that their Design was to become Master of the Army. They therefore thought it time to enter upon Measures for the Prevention of this Design, and the maintaining themselves in their Credit and Posts. They had for this Purpose several secret Meetings. But one Difficulty was first to be surmounted, before any Resolution could be taken. This was, that the inferiour Officers were very well satisfied with the Parliament, who carested them very much, intending to make use of them to get rid of their Commanders. *Lambert*, who commanded a Body of the Army about *Chester*, was entirely in the Party of *Fleetwood* and *Desborough*, well knowing that the Parliament had no kinder Intentions for him, than for the other two. Besides, his chief Aim was to prepare a perpetual Confirmation of the Generalship to *Fleetwood*, in Hopes to govern and make use of him for his own Advancement to the same Posts, as *Cromwell* had before served *Fairfax*. Though he was at a Distance from *London*, he was not unacquainted with what passed in these Conferences, nor wanting to offer his Advice. At last, after many Deliberations, it was resolved that *Lambert* should try to gain the inferiour Officers of his Army, which was less difficult to do, than to bring over the others, who lay dispersed in different Quarters.

ters. Pursuant to this Resolution *Lambert* being come to *Derby*, managed so that his Officers, whom he had carefully inspired with distaste to the Parliament, met to draw up a Petition, which, before it was offered to the Parliament, was to be communicated to *Fleetwood*, for the Approbation of the General-Council of his Officers. Sir *Arthur Haslerig* having received Advice that the Petition was brought to *London*, informed the *Commons* of it, and gave them to understand that the Army was contriving a very dangerous Plot, of which it was necessary to prevent the Consequences. Upon this *Fleetwood* was examined touching his Knowledge of the Petition. He answered that he had a Copy of it, and that the Original was in the Hands of three Officers, who were named by him. Whereupon he was ordered to give Notice to these Officers to bring this Petition in the Afternoon, and lay it before the House. This was done, and the Petition read. The *Stile* was in the fashionable Language of that time, amongst those who pretended to a more exalted Piety. The Substance of it was to this Effect :

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His Officers send the Plan of a Petition to be offered to the Parliament, Sept. 16. *Clarend. Baker, Cook. The Parliament informed of it.*

Orders the Petition to be laid before it.

“ 1. That the Parliament would be pleased not to suffer the Petition of the General-Council of Officers at *Wallingford-House* to be laid asleep, as it was the best Expedient yet offered to a happy and durable Settlement.

Demands of Lambert's Officers.

“ 2. That since a great many ill-affected Persons, were endeavouring to sow Division in the Army, the Parliament would be pleased, for the Preservation of that Union, wherein its greatest Strength lay, to establish firmly the Lord *Fleetwood* in the Command of the Army, whose Commission was to expire in a few Months, with *Lambert* for his Lieutenant-General, *Desborough* for the Command of the Horse, and *Monk* of the Foot.

“ 3. That considering the Negligence of a great many Persons intrusted with Publick Employes; the ill Designs of the Enemies of the good Cause;

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“ the Activity of some to favour those Designs, and
 “ the Affection and Zeal shewn by others for a
 “ blameable Neutrality, at a time, when their As-
 “ sistance is most wanted ; the Parliament would
 “ be pleased to make a diligent Inquiry upon this
 “ Subject, and proceed to the depriving of the
 “ Guilty of all their Employes : That on the con-
 “ trary, such as in this distracted Juncture declared
 “ willingly and cheerfully for the *good Cause*, either
 “ in the County-Troops, or *Militia*-Voluntiers, or
 “ otherwise, may be looked on as Friends, encou-
 “ raged, satisfied in their Arrears, and invested with
 “ Authority in their several Countries.

“ 4. That in the late Insurrections some confide-
 “ rable Corporations having assisted the Enemy, re-
 “ ceived and furnished them with Arms ; the Par-
 “ liament would be pleased to give some signal Mark
 “ of their Disfavour against them ; and for the fu-
 “ ture so regulate the Corporations, that Persons
 “ well qualified, according to the Government of a
 “ well-constituted Common-wealth, may be intrust-
 “ ed with Authority of the Magistracy in any of the
 “ several Towns, *That so the Footsteps of Monarchy*
 “ *may be rooted out.*

“ 5. That all Persons whatsoever, *Magistrates, Mi-*
 “ *nisters* or others, who have secretly stirred up the
 “ Inhabitants of these Nations to War and Commo-
 “ tions against the Parliament, and particularly to the
 “ *late Insurrections*, may be proceeded against as the
 “ Parliament in their Judgement shall think fit”.

The Par-
liament
voted a-
gainst it.

The House in a Debate upon this Petition, the
 next Morning voted, *That to have any more General*
Officers in the Army than are already settled by the Par-
liament, is needless, chargeable, and dangerous to the
Common-wealth ; and that Fleetwood shall acquaint
them with this Resolve.

Fleetwood having communicated this Vote to the
 Officers at his own House, it was resolved by them,
 That the Petition of *Lambert's* Officers should not
 be

be insisted on; but on the contrary, an Address offered to the Parliament, to profess an Adherence to their Authority against the common Enemy, and that they would stand by them in the Settlement of the Common-wealth against all Disturbances whatsoever; and that this should be prepared and brought to be read, and considered by a General-Council of Officers to meet for that Purpose the 27th of *September*.

Those who had the Care of preparing this Address, discharged their Trust, in a manner, little agreeable to the Intention of the Persons who ordered it, as will be seen presently. Nevertheless, the Address was approved in the General-Council of the Officers, by a Majority of Voices, and signed by two Hundred and Thirty then in and about *London*; but it was not presented till the 5th of *October*. On the other Hand, the Parliament took all possible Measures to prevent its being presented at all, partly by satisfying the Army in its Arrears, partly by sowing Division amongst the Officers, as they well knew that the Address was not universally approved, and visibly intended to beget a Breach between the Army and the Parliament; but all their Endeavours were to no Purpose. The 5th of *October Desborough*, attended by a great many Officers, went to the House to offer the Petition or Address. It was introduced by a long *Preamble*, in which it was pretended, that the Intentions of the Army were maliciously represented to the Parliament by ill-affected Persons, to create Division betwixt the Parliament and the Army; and that it was in Justification of themselves, from the Charge of such false and malicious Accusations, that they presented this humble Address beginning with the Four following Assertions:

We do humbly and plainly declare,

1. *That notwithstanding what any Persons may suggest, or say to the contrary, We are not for, but against setting up any single Person whatsoever in Supreme Authority: And for a Demonstration hereof, We may*

The Great Council of Officers resolve to present another Petition. Baker, p. 656. The Parliament tries to prevent it. Ibid. p. 657.

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appeal to your own Judgements, upon our late *Actings*, wherein since our Declaration of the sixth of May last, We have with all Industry, and Faithfulness, endeavoured to render our selves serviceable to you and the Common-wealth, and have chearfully observed your Commands, some of us with our Lives in our Hands in your late Service: Wherein to our great Encouragement, the Lord hath once more appeared to own you and your Army, and the Good Old Cause, for which we have contended. And at the late Return of this Parliament to the Discharge of their remaining Trust, We did with Simplicity and Plainness in our Humble Petition and Address presented to you, manifest our Hearts and Desires, and that with much Unanimity and Fullness of Consent, which we apprehend was well accepted by you.

3. That we have not since changed our Principles leading to a well-regulated Common-wealth, wherein the Liberties of the People thereof both Spiritual and Civil may be fully secured, and Persons of known Integrity, Piety, and Ability employed in Places of Trust and Concernment; but resolve, by the Assistance of God to remain constant to them: And make it our humble Prayer to God, that he would incline your Hearts effectually to prosecute the same, and make you Instrumental in bringing forth such a Foundation of Government, whereby all the good People of these Nations may rationally expect, that such Liberties and Rights shall be preserved to them and their Posterities. And we can truly say, that it is in our Hearts earnestly to desire that God would crown you with the Honour of making these Nations happy, by such a Settlement as may not be liable to every Change of Governours, and to have the Peace thereof disturbed by introducing new Governments.

3. Whereas a Petition and Proposals were lately drawn up by the Officers of the Brigade, that (under the Command of Major-General Lambert,) hazarded themselves in your Service with good Success, whereby, thro' the Blessing of God upon them, and others of your faithful Servants and Friends, the Peace of this Commonwealth is still continued: And the said Petition

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sent up to some Officers, here to be presented to the Lord Fleetwood; which had been by some interpreted to evil and sinister Ends, and from thence Suggestions derived, as if they were Intentions to violate the Parliament, to set up a single Person, or another General: In order whereunto, We do sincerely profess (whatever the Design of any may be to promote such causeless Jealousies) we have had no other than Faithfulness and Candour in our Hearts and Actions towards the Parliament; nor do we apprehend (with Submission we may speak it) any Reason or Cause of Offence to be conceived against your faithful Servants, who lately gave so ample Proof of their Fidelity and Courage.

4. We cannot but esteem our selves unhappy to have been so misrepresented to the Parliament, as should occasion such a publick Admonition upon Record; and considering what evil Use may be made of these Things by the publick Enemy, and to the End they may be disappointed of their Hopes, and all such Persons discouraged as shall go about for the future to promote Jealousies, or by Misinformation to beget Divisions betwixt the Parliament and their faithful Servants the Army: And that a good Understanding may be preserved between them we humbly pray,

1. That the Officers of the Army, and particularly those who have Reason to bear the Marks of your Favour for their Faithfulness in the late Northern Expedition, may stand Right in your Opinion, and have your Countenance.

2. That whatsoever Person or Persons shall for the future groundlessly and causelessly, inform the House against your Servants, thereby creating Jealousies, and scandalous Imputations upon them, may be brought to Examination, Justice, and condign Punishment.

3. That it being an undoubted Right of the People to have a Liberty, in a peaceable and submissive Way, to petition the Supreme Authority, which Liberty hath been by your selves asserted, allowed and approved of; we cannot but also assert the said Liberty, and humbly conceive,

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conceive, that your faithful Servants of the Army, may have no ways forfeited their Rights as Freemen, and that therefore they hope it will be no Offence for them to submit their humble Desires to the Parliament.

4. That you would be pleased to take into your serious Consideration, the necessitous Condition of the poor Soldiers, of your Armies, and that all possible Care may be taken for their timely Supply, their Wants being such as earnestly call for it : And that some speedy and effectual course may be taken to provide for the maimed Soldiers, and the poor Widows and Orphans of such as have been slain in your Service, that the Blessing of God may be upon you.

5. That such who have freely offered themselves in the several Counties, and Cities of these Nations, to own and stand by you and your Cause in the late Insurrections, with the hazard of all which is dear unto them, may have your Encouragement, and be employed in Places of Trust and Command.

6. That it being a Thing granted by all, that without due Execution of martial Discipline, the Peace, Union, and good Government of an Army cannot be preserved ; the Discipline of the Army may be preserved inviolable, and in particular, that no Officer or Soldier of the Army may be cashiered, or dismissed from their Places, without a due proceeding at a Court-Martial, or by his own Consent, except in Cases of Reducement or Disbanding.

7. That it being judged necessary by the Parliament for the keeping of the Army under such a Conduct as may render the same serviceable to the Common-wealth, to appoint a Committee of Nominations, for the proposing of Officers to the Parliament, for their Approbation ; We humbly pray, that no Officers may be brought into the Army, but such as shall first come under the Consideration of the said Committee, and be by them presented.

8. The Office of the Commander in Chief of the Army being of so great Concernment to the Peace of this Common-wealth, and his Commission at present (as we conceive) expiring within a few Months, We humbly pray, that

1659.

that the Consideration of that Matter may come before you, and some such effectual Course be taken therein, as may prevent our Fears, and the hazard of leaving the Army to Confusion.

9. *And that you would retain a good Opinion of your Army, and against all Discouragement whatsoever, proceed in carrying on of that Good Work intrusted in your Hands, for the Glory of God, and Advantage of these Nations. In the Prosecution whereof, through the help of our God, We shall be found (notwithstanding all Endeavours to the contrary) faithful to you and this Common-wealth.*

How Respectful soever the Terms of this Address might be, the Parliament were not pleased with the Contents, as it seemed to teach them their Duty, or rather to reproach them with some Neglect in it. They had forgot that this was the Language in which the Army spoke to the Presbyterian Parliament in support of the Independent Party, which then was very agreeable to them. It was manifest, that a Pretence was sought for a Quarrel by the Officers, and the Parliament was but too sensible of it. But the Army was their only Support, and the hopes of a Division amongst the Officers, from the dissent of some to the presenting this Address, their last Refuge. And therefore this was the Reason that, after some Members had warmly inveighed against the Insolence of the Officers, the House however returned a moderate Answer, that they might gain Time, and keep them in Temper, whom they were in no Condition to resist. The Officers therefore, who had delivered the Address, were called in, and thanked by the *Speaker* for their Affection and Fidelity to the Parliament; to which was added, that the Parliament had already begun to provide for the Relief of the disabled Soldiers, the Orphans and Widows, as well as to find Ways and Means for the Discharge of the Arrears due to the Army, and that they would soon feel the happy Effects of their labours.

The Parliament of London, yet returns a mild Answer.
Baker, p. 659.

1659.
The Officers distrustful of the Parliament.

Desborrow brought the Answer to the General Council of Officers which assembled the same Day ; but as they were informed of the Heats the Parliament had been in against them, it was suspected that the Members had only an Intention to gain Time for their own Security, or to change the Constitution of the Army. They therefore came to a Resolution of having their Address signed by all the Regiments in *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and of writing to them on that subject, which was done the same Day.

Monk
writes submissively to the Parliament.

Two Days after the Parliament having received from *Monk*, by Letter, Assurances of his entire Obedience, returned him a gracious Answer, letting him know the high Esteem they had of his Services, with Assurances of revoking all the Orders which might have given him any Cause of Disgust. The Parliament and Officers equally looked upon it as a considerable Advantage to have *Monk* in their Interests.

The Parliament returns a haughty Answer to the Address from the Officers,

Octob. 10.
Baker, p. 659.

Lambert comes to London, and draws his Forces thither.

Clarend.
VI. p. 597.

The Parliament makes an Act injurious to the Army.

Baker, p. 660.

The Parliament from their Hopes of that General's being well-affected to their Cause, shewed a little more Firmness and Resolution than they had ever done before. So that in their Debates upon the Officers Address, a distinct Answer was returned to each Article, and the Officers given to understand that their Complaints were without any just Grounds, and that the Parliament was neither under any Obligation, nor in the Humour to give them an account of their Conduct. This Answer convinced the Officers that Matters were come to such a Pass, that they must either resolve to submit to the Parliament, or endeavour a Dissolution. But they could not bring themselves to submit without one Tryal first of the Mastery. It was with this View that *Lambert* brought his Forces nearer *London*, and appeared there himself to support his Friends. The Parliament on their Side seeing a Breach with the Army was at Hand, made haste and passed an Act to declare it High-Treason to levy Money upon the People without the consent of Parliament. The Drift of this was to take from the Army the Means of

of Subsistence. The Parliament did still more : For 1659.
Monk the Clergyman being arrived from *Scotland* with
 Assurances from his Brother the General of his sup-
 porting the Parliament, and marching to their Assist-
 ance if it was necessary, *Lambert*, *Desborough*, and
 some other principal Officers, who had signed the
 Address, were cashired by the Parliament. At last
 they annulled *Fleetwood's* Commission, and named
 Commissioners for the Government of the Army,
 from the 11th of *October* to the 22d of *February*. But
 these Steps not being backed with Power, the Offi-
 cers received the Parliament's Orders with Scorn.

And ca-
 shiers seve-
 ral of his
 Officers,
 and va-
 cates
Fleet-
wood's
Commis-
on.
Baker,
p. 661.
Clarend.

VI. p. 597.

Cook, Ch.

III. p. 75.

Lambert

assembles

the Army,

Two Regi-

ments or-

dered to

Westmin-

ster by the

Council of

State for

security of

the Par-

liament.

Cook, Ch.

III. p. 75.

Lambert

hinders

the Speaker

from going

to the

House.

Clarend.

Baker.

the Mem-

bers not

suffered to

assemble.

In the mean Time, the Council of State, being in-
 formed that *Lambert* was assembling the Army, or-
 dered two Regiments to *Westminster*, to guard the
 Parliament. The Colonels and Officers of these Re-
 giments were devoted to the Parliament, and had
 refused to sign the late Address. This did not pre-
 vent *Lambert* from executing his Design ; he had
 drawn some Regiments into *London*, and on the 13th
 of *October* he secured all the Avenues, leading to the
 Parliament-House *. Presently after, the *Speaker*
 appearing in his Coach in his Way to the House,
 was stopped by *Lambert*, and by his Orders con-
 ducted back to his House. Then he sent to the Co-
 lonels of the two Regiments, which guarded the Pa-
 lace of *Westminster*, to retire to their Quarters.
 They refused Obedience to his Orders, but were
 with a contemptuous Smile bid to take Care of their
 Post, and stay as long as they pleased. At the same
 Time all the Members were arrested in their Passage
 by his Order, and prevented from taking their Seats
 in the Parliament. Thus the Parliament having nei-
 ther

Whirlock says, *Evelyn* who commanded the Life-Guards of
 Parliament, marching forth with his Troop, was met by
Whit at *Scotland-Yard Gate*, who commanded him to dismount,
 which he thought safest to do, though at the Head of his Troop,
 though *Lambert* was alone and on Foot. The Troop also
 obeyed *Lambert*, which he placed along *King's Street*, and stopped
 the *Speaker*. Whit. Mem. p. 688.

1659.
The Par-
liament's
Guard
retires.
A Guard
placed by
Fleet-
wood at
the Door of
the Par-
liament
House.

ther Members nor Speaker could not assemble that Day, and the two Regiments placed at *Westminster* to secure them from Violence retired after having remained there till Night. They were no sooner gone, than *Fleetwood* seized all the Posts, and placed a strong Guard at the Door of the Parliament-House, to hinder the Members from Meeting. The Day after, the discontented Officers cashiered, by their own Authority, those who belonged to the two Regiments appointed to guard the Parliament, and filled their Places with others of their own Nomination. The Soldiers obeyed their new Officers, and contentedly gave up the old.

An Anar-
chy of a
few Days,
1659.
The Offi-
cers form a
Council of
Ten.
Elected their
own Gene-
rals.

This Anarchy continued ten Days before the Officers, now Masters of the Nation, thought of settling any Form of Government. All they did, was to nominate Ten out of their own Body to form a Council, which was to take Care of the most urgent Affairs. Afterwards they declared *Fleetwood* their Genetal, *Lambert* their Lieutenant-General, and *Desborough* Commissary-General of the Horse. They established likewise a Council of Seven, to nominate such Officers as should not be suspected, with Orders to exclude all those in whom they could not confide. Mean while a Discipline so exact was observed through the Troops, that it was wonderful to see Soldiers so submissive to their Officers, so inoffensive to the People in a State of so much Confusion. As the Officers were in perpetual uneasiness from their suspicions of *Monk*, who was not of their Principles, and besides an Enemy to *Lambert*, Colonel *Cobbet* was dispatched to him to endeavour to gain him to their Party; and if that could not be done, he had secret Instructions to corrupt his Troops, and if it was possible put him under an Arrest. *Cobbet* gave *Monk* private Intelligence of the Purpos of *Cobbet's* Commission.

The exact
Discipline
of the Ar-
my.

Colonel
Cobbet
sent to
Monk by
the Officers
Clarend.
VI. p. 603.
Baker,
p. 662.
The King's
Success at
Fontarab-
ia.
Clarend.
VI.

During these Transactions in *England*, the King was in his Journey to *Fontarabia*, where he was just arrived when the Treaty between the two Cro

was concluded. He had by Mistake * got as far as *Saragossa*, where he had no Business, while the two Ministers of *France* and *Spain* ended their Treaty. But in all likelihood he would have received no Advantage from this Treaty, had he been there from the Beginning. It is indeed no easy Matter to guess what Benefit he proposed to himself from this Journey, nor does the Earl of *Clarendon* think fit to give us any Light concerning it. *Don Lewis de Haro*, Prime Minister of *Spain*, received him civilly, and shewed his Compassion of his distressed Condition by making him a Present of seven Thousand Pistoles. But Cardinal *Mazarin*, for fear of rendering himself suspected to the Parliament, would not so much as see him. Wherefore the King left *Fontarabia*, in order for *Brussels*, where he arrived the latter end of *December*. 1659.

In the mean Time the Great Council of Officers held frequent Assemblies in *London*, to endeavour at some Settlement of the Government, which could not be in greater Confusion than it was at that Time. At last, on the 26th of *October*, thirteen Days after the Dispersion of the Parliament, they agreed to establish a Committee of Safety *1, and put the Government into their Hands. Sir *Henry Vane*, who from the Time of the last Change had come into the Measures of the Army, made one of this Committee along with *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, *Desborough*, *Ludlow*, &c. The Great-Council of Officers as sole Sovereign then of the Three Kingdoms, gave the same Power to this Committee, which the last Council of State had

The Army
erect a
Committee
of Safety
for the Ad-
ministration of the
Govern-
ment,
Octob. 26.
Baker,
p. 662.

Its Power;

* This Mistake arose not from the Ignorance of the Way leading to *Fontarabia*, but from a Mistake in the King's Intelligence, that the Treaty between the two Crowns was finished whilst it was actually in Negotiation. In the first Case, the King had no Business at *Fontarabia*, and therefore Curiosity, and perhaps some better View, determined him to go to *Madrid*. When his Mistake was removed he turned back, and pursued his first intended Journey to *Fontarabia*. See *Clarendon*.

*1 Consisting of Twenty-three Persons. *Whitlock*, (who was one) says, he was not desirous of that Employment, at such a Time at this. *Whit. Mem.* p. 687,

1659. had before enjoyed, of punishing *Delinquents* concerned in the late Conspiracy : Of granting an Indemnity to all who had acted for the Republick from the Year 1649 : Of opposing all sorts of Rebellions and Insurrections : Of disposing of Offices which were, or might become vacant : Of taking away Employments from Persons of a scandalous disorderly Life : And lastly, of selling, or receiving a Composition for the Estates of *Delinquents*. At the same Time a Declaration was published to annul the Acts or Orders of the Parliament, of the 10th, 11th, and 12th of *October*. In this *Paper* the Officers declared, that far from desiring to erect a Military Government they had established a *Committee of Safety*, who were to consider of, and propose a Form of Government proper to preserve the Liberties of the Subjects, and the Welfare of the Commonwealth, without a *King, single Person, or House of Lords*. This Declaration ended with Sentences full of Scripture Passages, accommodated to the Taste and Practice of the *Godly Party*.

The Declaration
of the
Council of
Officers.

State of
Monk's
Affairs in
Scotland
Cook, Ch.
III. p. 76.

While the Officers were domineering in *England*, *Monk* was in a great Streight in *Scotland*. He was indeed at the Head of the Government of that Kingdom, and of Twelve Thousand Men, most of whom he might rely on, though many of the Officers were either *Fanaticks*, or inclined to be so, and consequently justly suspected by him. But this Army was supported by Money regularly paid from *England*, *Scotland* being insufficient for that Burden. This indeed had given *Monk* the Means of keeping an exact and severe Discipline in his Army, and of preserving such a Tranquillity in *Scotland*, as the like had not been enjoyed there of many Years. 'Tis true, the Clergy were dissatisfied with the Liberty of Conscience granted to all except *Catholicks* and *Prelatists*. But Forts erected by *Monk* in so many different Places of the Kingdom, and good Garrisons placed in them, prevented all Conspiracies of the disaffected. The Changes in *England* which followed upon *Cromwell's* Death

1659.

Death, first roused *Monk* out of the Security which he had so long enjoyed in *Scotland*. For though he was equally carressed by the Army and Parliament, because they either needed or feared him, yet he was sensible that which Side soever got the better, he was to be the Victim. He had already experienced the Parliament's Kindness for him, in their Endeavours to undermine his Credit. And he had no Room to doubt, that if this Parliament had subsisted, he would have been set aside by one Means or other, because he was feared. On the other Hand, his Hopes were no better from the Army, which was properly commanded by *Lambert* his Enemy, under the Name of *Fleetwood*. *Lambert* considered *Monk* as a formidable Rival, who would never allow him to execute his Designs, if it were in his Power to prevent him. *Monk*, for his Part, would never have submitted to be under *Lambert*. He was nevertheless under an absolute Necessity of embracing one of the Parties. A Neutrality would have laid him open to the Resentment of both, should they ever have come to a Reconciliation, which was by no Means impossible. Besides, in such Cases, the victorious Side never thinks any great Regard is due to those who have stood Neuters. In fine, a Neutrality would have wholly deprived him of the Supplies he received from *England* for the Subsistence of his Army. He therefore determined his Choice on the Side of the Parliament, and without any Evasion or Excuse, sent his Resolution to *Fleetwood*. For this Purpose he prepared for a speedy March into *England* with the best Part of his Army.

*Resolves to
march into
England.*

When this Resolution of *Monks* is considered, it is difficult to account for it, without imagining that he had other Motives to his Conduct, than these which appear to our first Thoughts. First, He had no Cause to be pleased with this Parliament, as has already been seen, and one discovers no Interest either publick or private, which could induce him to restore a Parliament generally hated, and which had been al-

*Motives to
his Resolu-
tion.*

ways

1659. ways distrustful of him. Second *Monk* came not at first into the *Republican* Party, with any other view, than that of freeing himself from Confinement. Thirdly, Though he commanded an Army of twelve Thousand Men, he could, at most, take no more with him than half, unless he had a Mind to give the *Scots* an Opportunity of shaking off the *English* Yoke. What therefore could induce him to run the hazard of facing an Army so much superiour to his own, with only five or six Thousand Men? Lastly, The People of *England* hitherto had declared for neither Parliament nor Army, but equally hated both. *Monk* therefore could have no Hope to engage the People on his Side to help him to restore a Parliament which had held them so long in a wretched Servitude. This at least clashed with the Interest of the *Royalists* and *Presbyterians*, who properly were the Body of the Nation, there being but very few who were attached either to the Parliament or the Army, though Fear compelled them to Obedience. And by the way, the small Interest which the Parliament had in the *Boroughs* or the *Counties*, was the true Reason that they never proceeded to fill up the Vacancies in their House, because they could not assure themselves of having such Members returned as they desired. These are the Considerations which naturally lead us to believe that *Monk*, when he resolved to march into *England*, under Colour of Re-establishing the Parliament, secretly intended to serve and restore the King. But it is not equally clear what was his Plan, or what the Means were to accomplish so great a Design. If the Authors who have wrote on the King's Side are to be believed, he marched into *England* at the Head of only five Thousand Men; and by the Terrour of this Army, joined to the Wishes of the Nation, and his own prudent Conduct, he effected this happy Change. All this is true; but it is not the whole of the Truth. One Part is concealed by partial Historians, or only confusedly told. For my Part, I shall give my Opinion, which I leave to the

*He designs
to restore
the King.*

the Judgement of the unprejudiced Reader. I own I cannot support it with the clear and undeniable Testimony of the Historians who have wrote of those Times. But I think I can ground it upon some Thing stronger than the Evidence of Historians; I mean, upon the Facts themselves, and General *Monk's* whole Conduct. The Reader will judge of it hereafter.

After the *Presbyterians* had been drove from the Parliament in 1648, they had been kept extremely low, because their Numbers rendered them formidable to the *Independent* Parliament, and afterwards to *Cromwell* himself. They had never been able to recover their Seats in Parliament, a few only excepted, who had thrust themselves in by a Dissimulation, which nevertheless, as appears from *Ludlow's Memoirs*, could not deceive the *Independents*. Sir *William Waller*, one of their Generals, was no longer in a Condition to put himself at the Head of an Army, and *Massy* had embraced the King's Cause. Wherefore having no more Business in the Parliament, or any Leader to appear in the Head of them, they had continued in Subjection to the *Independent* Parliament, and afterwards to *Cromwell*, without any Hopes of being able to raise again their dejected Party: They had for Enemies *Cromwell*, the Army, the Parliament, the *Royalists*, and were kept from all Employments which might give them any Credit. We have already seen that being weary of this their wretched Situation, they had discovered an Inclination to an Union with the King's Party, or at least made appear that they would not at all be displeased with the Success of the Design formed by that Party for an Insurrection in several Parts of the Kingdom. The ill Success of that Undertaking was the Reason, without doubt, that the Union was pushed no farther. Nevertheless, *Monk* knowing how the *Presbyterians* stood affected, employed, in all likelihood, *Clarges* his Confident to make a secret Agreement with some of their Chiefs for the restoring of the King

1659.

His Plan
in order to
it.

Ludlow.

1659. Friends as theirs. This was true in general, though some there were of *Monk's* Adherents in *London*, better informed than the rest, who knew what they were to believe. Be this as it will, all the Friends of the *Rump* united to support *Monk's* Designs, in a Supposition that his sole Intent was to restore the Parliament. This was the Reason that the Members who had formed the Council of State before the interruption of the Parliament, being privately assembled, sent to *Monk* a Commission constituting him General of the Armies of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

Baker, p.
673.

The Govern-
our of
Portf-

mouth de-
clares for
the Parlia-
ment.

Baker, p.
674.

Cook, Ch.
5. p. 80.

The Town
is blocked
up, and the
Soldiers de-
sert.

Clarend.
VI. p. 697.

Vice-Ad-
miral
Lawson
does the
same.

Clarend.
Baker.

Cook.
And a Re-

giment sent
from

Lambert.
Committee

of Safety
consents to

restore the
Parlia-

ment.
Baker, p.

673.
Cook, Ch.
p. 82.

On the other Hand, the Governour of *Portsmouth* *, *Monk's* particular Friend, declared for the Parliament, and received into his Garrison *Hastlerig*, *Walton*, and *Morley*, three Members of Parliament the most incensed against the Army. The *Committee of Safety*, upon the first Notice of this Defection, sent a Detachment of the Army to block up *Portsmouth*, but the Soldiers deserted their Officers, declared for the Parliament, and were received into *Portsmouth* as Friends. Another Detachment sent from the Army on the same Errand, did almost the same Thing, so that the Committee knew not on whom to rely. At the same time *Lawson* Vice-Admiral, declared for the Parliament against the Army, and brought several of his Ships up the *Thames*, to awe the Partizans of the Committee. *Lambert*, who commanded a Body of the Army in the *North*, being informed of the ill State of the Committee's Affairs, had detached a Regiment to the Assistance of his Friends in *London*, but that Regiment at *St. Albans* declared for the Parliament.

The *Committee of Safety* seeing all Things go cross, their Hearts seemed to fail. They took no Measures for their own Preservation; but instead of assembling the Army, suffered it to be dispersed into its Quarters. 'Tis likely they feared the Army's coming

* Colonel *Whetbam*.

ing together, as the Soldiers of the two Detachments sent to *Portsmouth* had deserted their Officers. Mean while *Haslerig*, *Walton*, and *Morley* finding themselves sufficiently strengthened by the Soldiers of the Army, which had deserted and retired to *Portsmouth*, put themselves at the Head of these Troops, and set forward for *London*. Then it was that *Fleetwood*, and the rest of the *Committee of Safety* were quite at their Wit's end. They durst not trust their own Soldiers, and were irresolute what Party to embrace. *Whitlock*, as appears from his *Memoirs*, advised *Fleetwood* either to put himself at the Head of the Army, or reconcile himself with the King. He appeared at first to listen to the last Proposal, but soon after changed his Mind, and did better. At last, his Colleagues and himself wanting Capacity and Resolution to extricate themselves out of so pressing a Difficulty, consented to the Meeting of the Parliament, and voluntarily resigned their usurped Authority. Their Consent to this was immediately followed by the Flight of all their Adherents, and the entire Desertion of their Party. 1659. p. 691.

Thus the Parliament met peaceably the 26th of *December*, and named immediately a Committee to govern the Army in their Name, and under their Direction. Afterwards they dispatched express Orders to *Lambert* to disperse his Forces, and send them into the Quarters assigned by the same Order. But *Lambert's* Troops had in some Measure prevented this Order, upon Notice that the Parliament was restored, and put their General under Arrest, who was sent Prisoner to the *Tower of London*. At the same time *Sir Henry Vane*, and some other Members of Parliament, who had espoused the Cause of the Army were confined to their own Houses. Thus, by a Revolution altogether unexpected, the first and most difficult Part of *Monk's* Undertaking, namely, the Restoring of the Parliament, was executed even before he left *Scotland*, and without his having any

The Rump restored, who meet the 26th of December.
Lambert put under an Arrest by his own Troops.
Clarend. VI. p. 706. Vane put under an Arrest.

1659 60. other Share in it, than his Resolution to march into *England*.

The King's Mean while this Revolution seemed to extinguish
Affair, be- the Hopes of the King, as a Parliament was restored
lieved to be so opposite to all his Interests. The World be-
desperate. lieved him lost beyond all Recovery. *France* and
Clarend. *Spain* began to consider the Means they were to use
VI. p. 671. to effect a solid and lasting Alliance with the Par-
 liament, which would have left it very difficult for
 the King to have found any Place to retire for his
 Subsistence. But though he pretended an outward
 Concern for his seemingly deplorable Condition,
A Conjec- there is nevertheless a good deal of likelihood, that
ture upon he was well informed of *Monk's* Intentions, and of
this Sub- the Manner in which they were to be executed. For
ject. though the Earl of *Clarendon* affirms that the King
Clarend. had only a Hope of being served by *Monk*, in order
VI. p. 707. to his own Security, yet I cannot persuade my self
 that *Monk*, however reserved he might be to o-
 thers, concealed his Intentions from the King, since
 there was no Danger in the Discovery *.

Be that as it will, *Monk*, before he left *Scotland*,
 convened the Deputies of the Nobility, the Cities
 and the Boroughs assembled at *Edinburgh*, and com-
 municated to them his Intentions of marching into
England, to rescue the Parliament from the Force
 put upon them by the Army, and restore them to
 their Authority. These Deputies, who made a sort
 of Convention of Estates, though the Union of the
 two Kingdoms denied them the Name, offered *Monk*
 to increase his Army with some Troops of their Na-
 tion, and granted him a Sum of thirty Thousand
 Pounds to enable him to maintain them. He ac-
 cepted the Money, but refused the Troops, believing
 he had no need of them. Some *Scotch* Writers af-
 firm,

Monk pro-
cures a
Supply of
Money
from the
Scots.

Cook, Ch.
3. p. 79.

* *Monk* placed no Confidence in *Hyde*, and when he sent the
 Assurance of his Service to the King by Sir *John Grenvil*, it was
 with this Proviso, that *Hyde* should not be let into the Secret:
 So says *Bevil Higgins*, who had it from his own Mother, Sister to
 Sir *John Grenvil*.

firm, that in dismissing this Assembly, he recommended to them all possible Care for preserving the Peace and Tranquillity of the Kingdom, and desired from them a positive Abjuration of the King and Royal Family. But *Gumble* who was his Chaplain, and writ his Life, positively denies it. Thus much is certain, that it was absolutely necessary for him to conceal, with the greatest Care, his Intention to serve the King, and that his Fear of betraying this Secret made him, on some Occasions, push his Dissimulation even to excess. This however did not prevent his being extremely suspected by those who would not hear of the King's Restoration. These Men were in great Numbers. To say nothing of the Army, which assuredly had no such Intention, though without their Knowledge, their March was designed for that Purpose alone.

Monk entered *England* with his Army the 2d of *January* 1659-60, and consequently he might have received Information of the *Rump's* Re-establishment. Some Days after, he received a Letter from the *Speaker*, which acquainted him with what had been done, and thanked him in the Name of the Parliament for his kind Intentions, insinuating to him, that if he thought it convenient, he might save himself the trouble of coming to *London*, as the Parliament was in peaceable Possession of their Authority; but this Letter gave no interruption to his March. If it is considered that this March was undertaken with a Pretence to re-establish the Parliament, and yet it was continued, though this Reason of it was removed, it will be no difficult Matter to perceive that he had another Motive than what was at first alledged. But this Pretence failing, he was obliged to find another, and that was the Assisting the Parliament to bring the Army to a Temper of Obedience and Submission. On his Arrival at *York* he found the Lord *Fairfax*, formerly General to the Parliament, at the Head of some Troops of that County, and in Possession of this City, in order to

Armies in England, 2d of January. Clarend. VI. p 624. Baker. p. 677. Receives a Letter from the Parliament to stop his Journey, but pays no Regard to it, lb.

Is received into York by the Lord Fairfax. Clarendon. VI. p. 709. Baker. p. 678.

1659-60. hinder the *Committee of Safety* from being Masters of it. The Lord *Fairfax* received *Monk* into the City without any Difficulty, and they had many Conferences together. *Fairfax* was a *Presbyterian*, though *Cromwell* had made him a Tool to the Advancement of the *Independents*. So that it is difficult to comprehend what View he could have in countenancing *Monk's* Designs, if the *Presbyterian* Faction had not secretly been engaged in the Project of the King's Restoration.

The Parliament suspects him.

All *Monk's* Dissimulation and Pretences of having no other View, but that of restoring the *Rump*, could not blind so many able Men from seeing that he had some other hidden Design. But they hesitated between two Opinions in appearance equally probable. These Opinions were, either that he had a Design of his own Advancement after the Example of *Cromwell*, or an Intention to restore the King. It was for this Reason that the *Rump*, a few Days after their Meeting, formed a Council of State consisting of Twenty nine Members, *Monk* being one; who, by an Order, were to take the following Oath:

Forms a Council of State.
Baker, p. 678.

And imposes an Oath upon the Members.

I do hereby Swear that I do renounce the pretended Title of CHARLES STEWART, and the whole Line of the late King James, and of every other Person as a single Person, pretending, or which shall pretend to the Crown or Government of these Nations of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or any of them, and the Dominions and Territories belonging to them, or any of them; and that I will, by the Grace and Assistance of Almighty God be true, faithful and constant to the Parliament and Common-wealth, and will oppose the bringing in, or setting up any single Person or House of Lords, and every of them in this Common-wealth.

Sends two Commissioners to be Spies upon him.
Baker, p. 678.
Cook, Ch. p. 82.

This Precaution did not quiet the Fears of the Parliament with regard to *Monk*, who daily became more suspected, notwithstanding all his Care to disguise his secret Intentions. It was therefore resolv-

to send two Deputies to him, under the Pretence of doing him Honour; but in reality to be Spies upon him. *Scot* and *Robinson* were made Choice of, who set forward, and came to him at *Leicester* the 22d of *January*. In this City likewise he received Deputies from *London* who waited on him with an Address, the Purport of which was to pray a Restitution of the Members to their Seats, who had been excluded from the Parliament in the Year 1648. *Scot*, one of the Deputies from the Parliament, interrupted the *London* Deputy while he was reading the Address, and commanded him Silence, looking upon this Proposal as a direct Attempt to destroy the *Republican* Parliament. This did not prevent *Monk* from receiving the Address. As he marched along, he received a great many such, so that the general Sense of the Nation seemed to be for the putting the Government into the Hands of the *Presbyterians*. Let us stay a Moment to make some Reflections upon this extraordinary Change.

It cannot be denied that the Members drove from the House in 1648 were *Presbyterians*, who had on all Occasions shewn an extreme Animosity against the King and the Church of *England*. If they had testified any Zeal for the Re-establishment of the late King, this was owing to Concessions made by him in their Favour in the Treaty of *Newport*, which he looked upon as intolerable, and had consented to meerly from the Necessity of his Affairs. Nay, the Parliament could not bring themselves to a Resolution of granting some Restrictions desired by the King to their Demands. If they voted that these Concessions might serve as a Foundation for Peace, this was only at a Time when the Army was already got into *London*, and ready to execute the Violence which was acted the next Day. The *Presbyterians* therefore are to be considered as having been all along the declared and perpetual Enemies of *Charles I.* From the 6th of *December* 1648, they had been kept very much under, and had for Enemies the *Royalists*,

Monk receives an Address from London for the restitution of the secluded Members, Clarend. VI. p. 710. Baker, p. 680. And others of the like Nature. Ibid.

Reflections upon this Occasion.

1659-60. *lifts*, the Parliament, the Protector, and the Army, and were without all Credit or Authority. Nevertheless, during *Monk's March*, this Party at once begin to lift up their Heads, and even become superior to all the others by a seeming Conspiracy of the whole Nation, to put the Supreme Power into their Hands, in demanding the Restitution of the Members excluded in 1648. What could be the Motive to so great a Number of Addresses on this Subject, offered to *Monk* on his March? And what could be his Inducement to receive them so favourably? Certainly when he left *Scotland*, his Intention was to labour for the King's Restoration, whatever Pretences he made use of to cover his Design. But had not the *Presbyterians* engaged to favour his Attempt, the raising their Party, and putting them again in Possession of the Government, would have been a very unlikely Means to compass his Ends. All that he could have gained by this Step, would have been the Restoration of the King upon the same Terms which his Father had complied with in the Treaty of *Newport*, which doubtless was very far from his Intention. Let us therefore conclude, that all these Addresses were the Effect, or the Consequence of a secret Agreement between the *Royalists* and *Presbyterians*, by which these last had consented to the King's Re-establishment, on Conditions relating to their Religion alone, without any Terms as in the *Newport* Treaty concerning the Government. Without this Supposition, the Steps afterwards taken for the King's Restoration can never be conceived, and with it all the Proceedings are natural and easie.

*Monk's
Diffimula-
tion.*

This Agreement was a Secret which was carefully to be concealed, to prevent, by its Discovery, an Accommodation between the Parliament and the Army; which, had it happened, would have made *Monk* little able to execute his Designs with only five Thousand Men. Wherefore, notwithstanding the Addresses presented to him were all ready, he was very cautious of shewing any Approbation of them,

them, and contented himself with a general Answer, 1659-60. That they should be laid before the Parliament.

Monk, as I said before, had only five Thousand Men *. This Army could give no hopes of Success against the other, three Times more numerous, and of which a great many Regiments were now in *London*. If the Parliament and Army could have united together, they would, doubtless, have rendered all *Monk's* Designs impracticable. But the Parliament was more jealous of their own Army than of *Monk's*. They only suspected that General of having secret Designs, without knowing exactly what they were. But that the General-Officers of the Army would become their Masters, if there was no doing without them, was too apparent to be doubted of. It was *Monk's* Interest therefore to keep up this Misunderstanding betwixt them, and he could not more successfully do it, than by professing an entire Devotion to the Interest of the Parliament. This took from the Parliament all Thoughts of an Union with the Army, which appeared altogether unnecessary, while *Monk's* Fidelity could be depended upon. This was the true Ground of *Monk's* Diffimulation, and of pretending on all Occasions, that his March to *London* was designed purely for the Service of the Parliament, and undertaken in Obedience to their Orders.

When he was come to *St. Albans*, twenty Miles from *London*, he wrote to the Parliament to desire that the Regiments, quartered in the City, might be obliged to retire at a Distance, it not being at all convenient that Troops, which had so lately been in Rebellion against the Parliament, should mix with those which were entirely devoted to their Interest, and brought them the Tender of their Services. With this Letter he sent a Method for the quartering of Troops in *London*, and the lodging those which

Demands that the Forces in London withdraw to make room for his.
Clarend. VI.
Baker, p. 680.
Cook, Ch. 3. p. 83.

* Dr. Skinner says, his Army, upon a Review at *Highgate*, amounted to five Thousand eight Hundred Men. p. 221.

1659-60. were to be removed from thence. Though this Demand was suspected by many Members to have something mysterious in it, it was nevertheless granted by a majority of Voices, and Orders were sent to the Regiments quartered in the City immediately to remove. This shows either that *Fleetwood* and *Desborough* were no able Politicians, who could not perceive that *Monk's* Intention was to become Master of the City and Parliament, or that they believed they had not a sufficient Command over their inferior Officers, to venture to oppose him. It seems that they could resolve nothing without *Lambert*, who was now a Prisoner in the *Tower*.

Monk enters London, Feb. 3. However that be, *Monk* artfully turning the Division between the Parliament and the Army to his own Advantage, entered, as it were, in Triumph into London the 3d of February 1659-60. After he had given Orders for the Quartering of his Troops, he repaired to the Council of State, who immediately tendered him the *Abjuration-Oath* before-mentioned,

which all the Members were obliged to take. But he asked Time to resolve; saying, He had been informed that strong Objections had been made to this Oath, even in the Parliament-House. Upon this Refusal he was denied a Place amongst the Members of the Council of State, till he had taken the Oath, and was obliged to withdraw.

The 6th of February he went to the Parliament, where he received the Compliments and Thanks of the *Speaker* in behalf of the House; to which he returned the following Answer:

“ Mr. Speaker,

“ Amongst the many Mercies of God to th
 “ A poor Nations, your peaceable Resti
 “ tion is not the least. It is (as you said) his W
 “ alone, and to him belongs the Glory of it; a
 “ esteem it as a great Effect of his Goodness to
 “ that he was pleased to make me, amongst ma
 “ worth

“worthier in your Service, some way instrumental
“in it. I did nothing but my Duty, and deserve
“not to receive so great an Honour and Respect as
“you are pleased to give me at this Time and
“Place, which I shall ever acknowledge as a high
“Mark of your Favour to me.

“Mr. *Speaker*,

“I Shall not now trouble you with large Nar-
“ratives, only give me leave to acquaint you,
“That as I marched from *Scotland* hither, I ob-
“served the People in most Counties in great and
“earnest Expectations of a Settlement, and several
“Applications were made to me, with numerous
“Subscriptions to them; the chiefest Heads of their
“Desires were for a free and full *Parliament*, and
“that you would determine your Sitting, a Gospel-
“Ministry, Encouragement of Learning and Univer-
“sities, and for Admittance of the Members seclu-
“ded before the Year 1648, without any previous
“Oath or Engagement. To which I commonly an-
“swered, That you are now in a free Parliament;
“and if there be any Force remaining upon you, I
“would endeavour to remove it; and that you had
“Voted to fill up your House, and then you would
“be a full Parliament also; and that you had al-
“ready determined your Sitting: And for the Mi-
“nistry their Maintenance, the Laws, and Univer-
“sities, you had largely declared concerning them
“in your last Declaration; and I was confident you
“would adhere to it: But as for those Gentlemen
“secluded in the Year 1648, I told them you had
“given Judgement in it, and all People ought to
“acquiesce in that Judgement; but to admit any
“Members to sit in Parliament without a previous
“Oath or Engagement, to preserve the Govern-
“ment in being, it was never done in *England*.

“But although I said it not to them, I must say,
“with Pardon, to you, That the less *Oaths* and
“Engagements are imposed (with Respect had to the
“Security of the Common Cause) your Settlement
“will

1659-60. " will be the sooner attained to. I am the more
 " particular in these Matters, to let you see how
 " grateful your present Consultations about these
 " Things will be to the People. I know all the so-
 " ber Gentry will close with you, if they may be
 " tenderly and gently used; and I am sure you will
 " so use them, as knowing it to be the common Con-
 " cern, to amplify, and not to lessen our Interest,
 " and to be careful that neither the Cavalier, nor
 " Fanatick Party have yet a Share in your Civil or
 " Military Power, of the last of whose impatience
 " to Government, you have lately had so severe
 " Experience. I should say something of *Ireland*
 " and *Scotland*; indeed *Ireland* is in an unsettled Con-
 " dition, and made worse by your Interruptions,
 " which prevented the passing an Act for the Settle-
 " ment of the Estates of Adventurers and Soldiers
 " there, which I heard you intended to have done
 " in a few Days; and I presume, it will be now
 " quickly done, being so necessary at this Time,
 " when the Wants of the Common-wealth call for
 " Supplies; and People will unwillingly pay Taxes
 " for those Estates, of which they have no legal
 " Assurance: I need not tell you how much you
 " were abused in the Nomination of your Officers of
 " your Armies there; their Malice that deceived
 " you, hath been sufficiently manifested: I do af-
 " firm, That those now that have declared for you
 " will continue faithful, and thereby evince, that as
 " well there as here, it is the sober Interest must
 " establish your Dominion. As for *Scotland*,
 " I must say, the People of that Nation deserve to
 " be cherished; and I believe your late Declaration
 " will much glad their Spirits; for nothing was to
 " them more dreadful, than a Fear to be over-run
 " with Fanatick Notions. I humbly recommend
 " them to your Affection and Esteem; and I hope
 " the intended Union may be prosecuted, and their
 " Taxes made proportionable to those in *England*,
 " for

“ for which I am engaged by Promise to become a
 “ Suiter to you. And truly, Sir, I must ask Leave
 “ to intreat you to make a speedy Provision for the
 “ Civil Government there, of which they have been
 “ destitute near a Year, to the Ruin of many Families : And except Commissioners for managing of
 “ the Government, and Judges to sit in Courts of
 “ Judicature, be speedily appointed, that Country
 “ will be very miserable.
 “ I directed Mr. *Gumble* lately to present some
 “ Names to you, both for Commissioners and
 “ Judges ; but by Reason of your great Affairs, he
 “ was not required to deliver them in Writing :
 “ But I humbly present them to your Consideration.”

This Speech was not agreeable to the whole House ; some of the Members were of Opinion, that *Monk* had spoken too positively, and assumed too great an Authority ; that he had affected a Popularity which laid him open to Suspicion : That he had engaged for the Fidelity of the *Irish* Officers, which nevertheless was a disputable Point : In short, that in saying that the *Cavaliers* were not yet to have a Share in the Government, he gave that Party encouragement to hope a Time might come for their Admission. Baker, p. 684.

Two Days after, the Parliament had Opportunity to put *Monk's* Fidelity to the Tryal, and to be assured whether or no he was so devoted to their Interest as he studied to appear. The Common-Council of the City of *London*, in an Assembly held the 17th of *February*, came to a Resolution to pay no more Taxes till the Parliament was filled. That Council knew *Monk's* Design of restoring the Members drove from the House in 1648, and doubtless, thought this Resolution was proper to hasten it. They had nothing to fear from *Monk*, and well knew that the Parliament would not recall the Regiments *The City of London refuses the Payment of Taxes.* Baker, p. 684.

1659-60. giments which were at a Distance from *London*, to force the City to Obedience. Upon Advice received of this Determination, the Parliament ordered *Monk* to lead his Army into the City, apprehend eleven Members of the Common-Council, and bring away the Chains, Gates, and Portcullices. *Monk* obeyed the Order without any Objection or Delay. He assembled his Forces, entered the City, and arrested the eleven Members of the Common-Council. *Clarend.* VI. p. 713. He then writ to the Parliament an Account how far *Baker, p.* 684. he had proceeded in their Order, but at the same time prayed them to moderate the Rigour of the remaining Part of it. But the Parliament, whether in Animosity against the City, or for a farther tryal of *Monk's* Fidelity, and perhaps to engage him in a Quarrel with the City, which might not easily be accommodated, insisted upon a punctual Compliance with their Order, and were instantly obeyed. After this he brought back his Troops to *Whitehall*, which disgusted the Parliament, expecting that he would not quit the City without an Order from them.

Barebone presents a Petition to require that the Abjurati-on Oath might be universally taken. *Clarend.* VI. p. 714. *Baker, p.* 685. *Cook, Ch.* 3. p. 84. *Monk by the Re-monstrances of his Friends comes to know his Error in embroiling himself with the City.*

The same, or following, Day, *Barebone*, before remembered on Occasion of *Oliver Cromwell's* first Parliament, presented a Petition to the Parliament subscribed by a great Number of Hands, in which the Oath to Abjure *Charles Stuart* was required to be taken by all Persons without exception, and he had the Thanks of the House.

The Step lately taken by *Monk* astonished both his Friends and the City of *London*. The Magistrates of that City were enraged at the Treatment received from him, whom they now looked upon as a perfidious Man, who had amused them with Hopes of a Re-admission to the secluded Members, only to know their Sentiments touching that Affair, while he was absolutely devoted to the Interest of the Parliament. On the other Hand, his Friends represented to him as an irreparable Mistake, his imbroiling himself with the City of *London*, by whom he could only expect to be supported against the Pa-

ment bent upon his Ruin, notwithstanding their fair Pretences. They told him that he had fallen into the Snare laid for him by this Commission, which had lost him the Confidence of the *Londoners*, and exposed him to the Parliament's whole Designs against him; besides, that without the Assistance of the City, he would never, with his Handful of Troops, be able to execute the Design he had undertaken *.

Monk convinced, by these Reasons, that he had pushed his Diffimulation too far, turned his whole Thoughts to repair his Errour, by an open Rupture with the Parliament, in order to regain the Confidence of the City Magistrates. He therefore, without loss of Time, sent *Clarges* his Confident to the * Lord-Mayor, to tell him that he was extremely Sorry for what he had done, and desired a Conference with him, and the Common-Council, to make Reparation for his Errour. But *Clarges* could do nothing with the Lord-Mayor, who was persuaded that *Monk* was a deceitful and treacherous Man, who only aimed to deceive him. Notwithstanding all this *Monk* called his Forces together, bent to march once more into the City, and reconcile himself to the Magistrates, whatever might be the Consequence. Before he set forward he sent a Letter to the Parliament, written with the Approbation of all his General-Officers, in which he complained, "That they gave too much Countenance to *Lambert*, *Vane*, and several others that were attached to the late Committee of Safety; and that they had

Resolves to repair it.
Baker, p. 685.

Brings back his Forces into the City.
Clarend. VI. p. 636.
Writes a Letter to the Parliament, filled with Complaints and Reproaches

* In *Skinner's Life of Monk*, 'tis said, That the Orders to march the Army into the City, were not directed to *Monk* alone, but also to the other Commissioners, whereof *Hastlerig*, *Walton*, and *Morley* were upon the Place, and, ever since his Arrival at London, had acted jointly with him; so that, had the General refused his Orders, the others might have done the Business without him, and consequently, put it to the Hazard of removing him from the Command of his Army. But as he did not let his Friends know this Reason, the Action was variously censured, p. 237.

* *Sir Thomas Allen*.

1659-60. " permitted *Ludlow* to sit in their House, though he
 " had been by Sir *Charles Coot*, and some of the *Irish*
 " Officers accused of *High-Treason*; and had coun-
 " tenanced too much a late Petition to exclude the
 " most Sober and Conscientious, both Ministers and
 " others, by *Oaths*, from all Employment and Main-
 " tenance; and in fine, peremptorily demanded that
 " by *Friday* next, they would issue out Writs to fill
 " up their House; and when filled, should rise at an
 " appointed Time, to give Place to a full and free
 " Parliament."

Maribos
into the
City.

Cook, Ch.
 III. p. 84.

The Par-
liament
sends De-
puties to
him to sa-
tisfy him.
 Baker, p.
 685.

But with
no Success.

Passes an
insignifi-
cant Vote.

Monk re-
conciles
himself
with the
City Ma-
gistrates.
 Clarend.
 VI. p. 716.
 Baker, p.
 684.

This Letter made it evident to the Parliament, that *Monk* sought Occasion to quarrel, which, as it was not easy to avoid in this Conjunction, they, by an Order (thought the best Expedient to mollifie him) voted him immediately the Thanks of the House for his Care; and acquainted him, that they were upon Measures to satisfy his Request without Delay. At the same Time *Scot* and *Robinson* were dispatched to him with this Resolution. *Monk* had before this marched into the City, and, with great Difficulty, prevailed with the Mayor to call the Common-Council together that Afternoon. In the mean Time the two Deputies of the Parliament, having waited on *Monk* with the Message, came back but with little Satisfaction. He returned no other Answer, but that all Things would be well, provided his Letter was complied with. Upon this Answer, the Parliament voted the Command of the Army to be in the Hands of five Commissioners, *Monk* being one, but not of the *Quorum*, or one of the Three whose Presence was necessary to give Orders.

In this Interval, *Monk* repairing to the Common-Council, made a Speech, in which he testified his Concern for having accepted a Commission, which he had in the Execution, given so much Uneasiness to the City. That he was under a Necessity of accepting it, or throwing up his Employment. But he had judged it necessary to preserve that for the Good of the City and of the whole Nation, which

Happiness and Advantage should always be pursued by him, as far as lay in his Power. And to put his Sincerity out of all doubt, he communicated to the Council the Letter written by him to the Parliament, and the Answer he had given to the Deputies. As these last Proofs were convincing, they were sufficient to appease the Council, and cause *Monk* to be looked upon as a Friend come to their Relief, notwithstanding what had happened the Day before.

When the News of this Reconciliation was spread through the City, the Bells were rung, Bonfires made in all the Streets, and Numbers of *Rumps* thrown into them in Derision of the Parliament *.

Some Days after the Council of State sent to desire *Monk* to come and assist at their Councils, for regulating the Affairs of the Nation : But to avoid exposing himself to this Danger, he returned for Answer, That the Inhabitants of *London* were so dissatisfied, that his Presence was absolutely necessary in the City to keep them in Awe. On the other Side, the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen conjured him to stay in the City, acquainting him, that the Parliament was secretly endeavouring to corrupt his Army, for which Purpose Sir *Aribur Haslerig* had written to several Persons to engage them in the Design. Wherefore *Monk* took Care to avoid the Snare which was laid for him.

After *Monk* had closely united himself with the City, Petitions came thick for the Re-establishment of the secluded Members in 1648. It is very likely that he had his Emiffaries dispersed in several Quarters to incite the People to offer these Petitions, which were always favourably received by him, it being necessary for him to support his Designs by the general Inclination of the People. He well knew what Use was to be made of a *Presbyterian*-Parliament, though many who signed the Petitions

Great Rejoicings in the City.
Baker, 1b.
Cook, Ch. III. p. 85.
Monk being required by the Council of State to, assist in their Deliberations, refuses.
Baker, p. 687.

Monk receives great Numbers of Petitions for the Re-establishment of the secluded Members.
Baker, p. 687.

This Saturday Night, Feb. 11, was called the *Roasting of the Rump*.

1659-60. imagined that *Presbyterianism* was going to remount the Throne.

A Conference between the Members of the present Parliament, and the secluded ones of 1648, comes to nothing.
Clarend. VI p. 716.
Baker, p. 687.
Monk's Reasons to press the Conclusion of the Conference.

He resolves to restore by Force the secluded Members.
Baker, p. 688.

At last, on the 18th of *February*, *Monk* ordered it so, that some of the sitting Members had a Conference with some of the secluded, on the Subject of their Re-admission into Parliament. He could have wished that this might have been done by common Consent. But the Conference came to nothing, because the sitting Members could not, or would not undertake for the Parliament's accepting the Conditions which should be agreed on. They were for having this left to the Determination of the Parliament, who doubtless, would have found Means to draw the Negotiation out to a great length : But *Monk* saw himself indispensably obliged to bring it to a speedy Conclusion, fearing that a Delay might produce an Accommodation between the Army and the Parliament. Such an Accommodation was so natural, in the Extremity to which the Affairs of the Parliament were brought, that it is astonishing that no Endeavours were used to procure it. However if there were any, History is silent concerning them. Wherefore *Monk* desirous to improve so favourable a Conjuncture, resolved to introduce the secluded Members into the Parliament, in spite of those who were now sitting ; but as the Army was to assist in executing this Resolution, he called his Officers together, to acquaint them with his Intentions. All consented on certain Conditions relating to their own Interests, which were positively promised. Then *Monk* made the secluded Members give their Word, that after their Re-establishment they would call a Free-Parliament, and dissolve the present *.

These

* *Monk* made the secluded Members, before their Admission, to subscribe to these four Articles. 1. To settle the Conduct of the Armies in the three Nations so as might best secure the Peace of the Common-wealth. 2. To provide for the Support of the Forces by Sea and Land, and Money also for their Arrears, and the Contingencies of the Government. 3. To constitute a Council of State for the Civil Government of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and to

These Resolutions being taken, *Monk* repaired to *Whitehall* the 21st of *February*, attended by all the secluded Members; and after an Exhortation to them to take Care of the Interests of the Nation, he gave them a guard to conduct them to the Parliament, where they took their Places without any previous Notice given to the sitting Members. They were so much superiour in Number to the *Independents*, that the Heads of that Faction, after having some Time looked upon one another, thought fit to withdraw and abandon their Cause.

The same Day *Monk* wrote a circular Letter to all the Regiments, to inform them of the Change lately made in the Parliament, to assure them of the Zeal of the restored Members for the Interests of the Army, and to desire their Opposition to all Attempts which might be made by disaffected Persons in favour of *Charles Stuart*. This last Clause was necessary to keep the Army in Temper, which was yet far from having any Thought or Desire of the King's Restoration. This Letter was signed by *Monk* himself and his General-Officers, and sent the same Day to the Colonels of the several Regiments.

This Parliament continued sitting but Twenty-five Days, in which Time several Steps were made, which clearly discovered that they were by no Means disinclined to the King. Some of their Proceedings shall here be laid together, that I may not be obliged to break the Thread of the Narration. 1. They annulled all Votes and Orders made by the Parliament since the 6th of *December* 1648, against the secluded Members. 2. They ordered a general Discharge of all the imprisoned Friends of the King, and amongst the rest of *Sir George Booth* *. 3. They voted *Monk* to be General of the Armies of the three Nations. 4. They

1650-60.
The secluded Mem-
bers re-
sume their
Place.
Feb. 21.
1659-60.
Clarend.
Baker.
Cook.
The Inde-
pendents
Chiefs
withdraw
Baker,
p. 689.
Circular
Letters
sent by
Monk and
his Officers
to all the
Regiments.
Ibid. 688.

Acts made
by the Par-
liament
during the
remainder
of its Ses-
sion.
Baker, p.
690, &c.

issue out *Writs* for the summoning a Parliament to meet at *Westminster* the 20th of *April*. 4. To consent to their own Dissolution, by a Time that should be limited to them. *Skinner*, p. 263.

* The Earls of *Crawford* and *Lauderdale*, and the Lord *Sinclare* were also released.

1659-60. repealed the Oath for the Abjuration of *Charles Stuart*, and all the Royal Family. 5. They voted down the old, and appointed a new Council of State composed of one and Thirty Members, most of them *Royalists*, and well-disposed to serve the King *. 6. They made great Changes in the *Militia of London*, and the several Counties, and took away all Commissions granted by the *Republicans*. 7. They abrogated the Oath which obliged the Takers to be faithful to the established Government without a *King, and House of Peers*, by which the Lords, who were generally Well-wishers to the King, were restored to their Right of constituting a separate House in Parliament. Lastly, they dissolved themselves the 17th of *March*, after having issued out Writs for a free Parliament to meet the 25th of *April*, who were to restore the King, of which do doubt was now made. Nevertheless, as such a Change could not please every Body after so long an Interruption of the Exercise of Royal Power, the Parliament before their Separation, thought it still necessary to amuse the People, or at least to leave room to doubt whether the King's Restoration was intended. Therefore a Vote passed that, First, No Person should be admitted to any Military Employ, before he had taken an Oath acknowledging the Justice of the Arms taken up against the late King *. That Secondly, No Person who

The Parliament summons another, and dissolves itself, March 17.

Votes of the Parliament before its Separation to amuse the People.

* To let the Reader see who were then the Leading Men, it may not be amiss to insert the Names of this Council, which *Rapin*, by Mistake says, consisted of but Twenty one Members. General *Mont*, *William Pierpoint*, *John Crew*, Colonel *Rossier*, *Richard Knightsley*, Colonel *Popham*, Colonel *Morley*, Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Lord Chief-Justice *St. John*, Sir *John Temple*, Lord Commissioner *Widdrington*, Sir *John Evelyn*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *Richard Onslow*, Sir *William Lewis*, Colonel *Edward Montague*, Colonel *Edward Harley*, Colonel *Richard Norton*, *Arthur Ansley*, *Denzil Hollis*, Colonel *Cwge Thomson*, *John Trevor*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *John Potts*, Colonel *John Birch*, Sir *Harbottle Grimston*, *John Swinfin*, *John W...*, Serjeant *Maynard*.

* In the Act of the *Militia of London* was a Clause, that every Commissioner shall acknowledge and declare, That the War is ...

who had bore Arms against the Parliament, should be returned a Member for the ensuing Parliament. In all Appearance these Resolutions were only taken to prevent any Troubles which might arise from the Designs of the *Male-contents* in the Interval betwixt the two Parliaments. It is at least certain, that the last Vote was set aside in the new Elections for Representatives, among whom were great Numbers of *Royalists*. As the Acting contrary to this Vote could be questioned only by the next Parliament, no Body had any Thing to do to speak against it, till the Parliament should meet.

But these illusory Votes by no Means deceived the *Republicans*, who too well knew of the Resolution taken to restore the King. To ward off therefore a Blow which could not but crush them entirely, they endeavoured to bring *Monk* into Measures of taking upon himself singly the Government, and supplying the Place of *Oliver Cromwell* *, rather wishing to have him their Governour or even Sovereign, than see themselves exposed to the King's Vengeance. *Monk* having resolutely rejected this Offer, *Clarges* was next applied to, to intreat his Intercession with the General to prevail with him to accept the Government. But *Clarges* discovered their Conspiracy to the Council of State, who, if they had not been rescued by *Monk's* Intercession, would have punished them with exemplary Rigour.

The Republicans endeavour to prevail with Monk to take the Government upon himself. Baker, p. 693. *But without Success*

Ibid.

This Attempt failing, they privately spirited up a good Number of Officers of their own Principles to draw up a Declaration, by which they engaged themselves to support the *Republican* Government. This Declaration was brought to the General to set his

An Engagement of some Officers presented to Monk to oblige him to abjure the King.

de taken by both Houses of Parliament in their Defence against the Forces raised in the Name of the late King, was just and lawful, as that Magistracy and Ministry are the Ordinances of God. Whit. M. m. p. 699.

Among the Rest, says Skinner, Sir Arthur Haslerig, (to preclude the King's Restoration) offered him One Hundred Thousand Pounds that should subscribe his Title, p. 276.

1659-60.
He rejects it.
Baker,
p. 694.

Forbids the Officers to assemble without leave from him.

Mazarin
ondeavour to Interest himself in the English Affairs, but without Success.
Ib. p. 695.

Sir John
Greenvil
dispatched to Monk from the King.
Clarend.
VI. p. 741.
Baker,
p. 695.

Hand to it, and they pretended to oblige the whole Army to subscribe it. But *Monk* excused himself, alledging, that this Precaution was needless after the Vote, before-mentioned, that no Adherent of the King should be elected to serve in the ensuing Parliament. But they laughed at this Evasion, well knowing that it belonged to the *House of Commons* to judge of the Qualifications of their Members. In short, as they continued to importune him, he forbade them with an Air of Authority, to assemble together without his Permission.

The Transactions of *England* being quickly carried to Cardinal *Mazarin*, it was not difficult for him to comprehend that *Monk* had some great Design in view. But as he could not judge whether that General was labouring for himself or the King, he ordered *Monsieur de Bourdeaux* the French Ambassadour at *London*, to make an Offer of his Friendship to *Monk*, and of every Thing in his Power, let his Designs be what they would. Probably the Cardinal, who had always treated the King with Neglect, and was but little, if at all desirous of his Restoration, would not have been sorry that *Monk* had declared for himself. But in case his Aim was to restore the King, the Cardinal was willing to have some Share in it, in order to make some Reparation for the harsh Usage the King, on sundry Occasions, had met with from him. The Ambassadour applying himself to *Clarges*, intimated to him that the Cardinal was ready to serve the General in his Undertaking, whatever it was, and therefore desired a Conference with him. But though *Monk* would not absolutely refuse a Visit from the Ambassadour, he nevertheless ordered *Clarges* to acquaint him, that it would, by no Means, be proper to enter into any Particulars with relation to the *English* Affairs, and so the Visit passed in general Compliments.

The Day after the Dissolution of the Parliament, Sir *John Greenvil*, sent by the King to General *Monk*, was introduced to him in the Night. He let him know

know that the King expected great Services from him, and that he would put the finishing Stroke to a Work so happily begun, and even very far carried on. *Monk* answered, That he was always disposed to serve his Majesty to the utmost of his Power : But that the Troops of the two Armies were yet so disinclined to his Restoration, that the Design could not be kept too Secret, because a Discovery would furnish an Occasion to the *Republicans* of entering into Measures which might over-turn it. That therefore Dissimulation was yet necessary, till the Parliament summoned to meet should complete Matters. And in the mean Time, it should be his Care to make Alterations in the Army advantageous to the King, by the Removal of Officers who were most suspected. He added, that for the better Execution of the projected Design, he thought it absolutely Necessary for the King to have in Readiness a Declaration capable to dissipate the Fears of those who were the most deeply involved in Guilt, and that he would engage himself to consent to an Act of Grace in favour of all, but such as should be excepted by Parliament : That it was moreover very necessary for his Majesty to promise his Consent to all Acts which should be presented to him for Payment of the Arrears due to Officers and Soldiers, and for Confirmation of the Grant made to them of the forfeited Estates : That he should likewise promise an entire Liberty of Conscience, and that no Person should be molested on account of his Religion, provided he gave no Disturbance to the Publick Peace. Lastly, He gave his Advice to the King to remove in Time to some Town of the *United-Provinces*, to prevent his being arrested by the *Spaniards*, should they have any such Intention, which might ruin the whole Undertaking.

Monk answers his Message.

The King pursued his Advice, as will be presently seen, and removed from *Brussels* to *Breda*, not without some Danger of being stopped just before he set out

1659-60. out from *Brussels*, if we may believe the Earl of *Clarendon*.

Monk cashiered several Officers, and substituted others more faithful in their Places.
Baker, p. 697.

Mean while *Monk* suffered not the Time to pass unprofitably, which remained till the Opening of the Parliament. He cashiered, under divers Pretences, the Army-Officers who were most suspected by him, and filled their Places with others in whom he could repose an entire Confidence. Moreover some Officers, by his Direction, drew up an *Engagement* in form of an Address to the General, by which they promised an unreserved Obedience to the Orders of the Parliament, when it should meet. This *Engagement* was presented to *Monk*, and had his Approbation and Order to all the Regiments in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* to subscribe it. This gave him a Colour to deprive of their Employments all such as refused to sign this *Engagement*.

1660.
Lambert escapes out of the Tower, and puts himself at the Head of some Troops.
Clarend.
VI. p. 726.
Baker, p. 698.
Cook, Ch. III. p. 86.

While the Hopes of the King and his Party were daily gathering Strength, an Accident fell out which might have been attended with ill Consequences, had it not met with a timely Remedy. This Accident was the Escape of *Lambert* out of the *Tower*, and his putting himself at the Head of some Troops. As he had a great Reputation in the Army, there was Danger that all the *Republicans*, then very numerous, would declare for him. *Monk* therefore lost not one Moment to prevent the Danger before it spread farther. *Lambert* having assembled some discontented Troops at *Daventry*, *Ingoldsby* was immediately sent against him, with *Monk's* own Regiment, and ordered to take some other Troops in his Way, and give him immediate Battle. This great Expedition decided the Business. As *Lambert* had not yet had time to draw together any considerable Body of Troops, *Ingoldsby* met him the 22d of *February*, thirteen Days after he had made his Escape, defeated and sent him Prisoner to the *Tower*. Thus the Fear which *Lambert's* Escape had given to the King's Party was entirely dissipated.

Lambert is defeated, and made Prisoner by Ingoldsby

Two Days before the Parliament met, the *Republicans* made another Attempt to prevent the King's Restoration, by dispersing a forged Letter dated at *Brussels*, in which it was said, that the King only waited for his Restoration, to take a cruel Revenge upon all who had ever been his Enemies. It was farther added, that his Party was preparing to put them all to the Sword. This forged Letter beginning to do Mischief, the Lords, and others of the King's Party published a Declaration signed by Seventy of them, in which they disavowed all the wicked Intentions ascribed to them in this Letter, and protested that their Desire was to live peaceably, without one Thought of Revenge against the Authors of their Sufferings.

1686.

A forged Letter dispersed to prevent the King's Restoration.

Baker, p. 699.

The King's Party declare against it.
Clarend. Baker.

The new Parliament met the 25th of *April*, in two Houses; the one of *Lords*, and the other of *Commons*, agreeably to the antient Constitution. In the *House of Lords* the King had a great Majority of Friends. In that of the *Commons* it was found that a great Number of *Royalists* had been elected, notwithstanding the Vote before spoken of. Some *Presbyterians*, who were not in the Secret, had a Mind to complain, and moved for an Examination of the Elections, but were not heard. The greatest Part of the *Presbyterian* Members were no less zealous than the *Royalists* for the King's Restoration, desired by all, not perhaps so much out of Affection to him, as to deliver the Kingdom from the Dominion of the *Independents* and *Fanatists*, and the Tyranny of the Army which had lasted twelve Years.

The Parliament meets the 25th of April.

Clarend. VI p. 755.
Baker, p. 701.

Two Days after the Opening of the Parliament *, *The King* *Greenvil*, returned from *Brussels*, waited on *Monk* with a Commission from the King, constituting him General of all the Forces of the three Kingdoms, and the same time produced a Letter from his Majesty to be communicated to the Council of State, and the Officers

sends a Commission to Monk to make him General.
Baker, p. 701.

* The Earl of *Manchester* was chosen Speaker for the *Lords*, and *Harbottle Grimmons* for the *Commons*.

1660. Officers of the Army. But *Monk* excused himself from opening the Letter, till he had received a Permission from the Parliament. In the mean Time, the *Commons* having adjourned themselves for two or three Days, *Greenvil* applied himself to the *Lords*, and presented to them a Letter from the King, with a Declaration dated the 14th of *April*.

Greenvil presents a Letter, and a Declaration to the Lords from the King. The Substance of it.

In the Letter the King told the *Lords*, that being informed of their Re-establishment in the Rights to which they were born, he hoped they would make a good Use of them for the publick Welfare, for putting an end to the Troubles of the Kingdom, restoring himself to his just Prerogatives, the Parliament to its Privileges, and the People to their Liberties. As for the Declaration, it will be necessary to insert it here at length.

CHARLES R.

The King's Declaration. “ **C** *Charles* by the Grace of God, King of Eng-
Baker, “ *land, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender*
p. 702. “ *of the Faith, &c. To all our Loving Subjects*
Clarend. “ *of what Degree or Quality soever, Greeting. If*
VI. p. 746. “ *the general Distraction and Confusion which is*
 “ *spread over the whole Kingdom, doth not awa-*
 “ *ken all Men to a Desire and Longing, that those*
 “ *Wounds which have so many Years together been*
 “ *kept Bleeding, may be bound up, all We can*
 “ *say will be to no Purpose : However, after this*
 “ *long Silence, We have thought it our Duty to*
 “ *declare how much We desire to contribute there-*
 “ *unto : And that as We can never give over the*
 “ *Hope in good time to obtain the Possession of that*
 “ *Right which God and Nature hath made Our*
 “ *due ; so we do make it Our daily Suit to the Di-*
 “ *Providence, that he will, in Compassion to Us*
 “ *Our Subjects, after so long Misery and Sufferin*
 “ *remit, and put us into a quiet and peaceable*
 “ *session of that our Right, with as little Blood*
 “ *Damage to Our People as is possible ; Nor*

1660.

" We desire more to enjoy what is Ours, than that
" all Our Subjects may enjoy what by Law is theirs,
" by a full and entire Administration of Justice
" throughout the Land, and by extending Our Mer-
" cy where it is wanted and deserved.

" And to the end that Fear of Punishment may not
" engage any conscious to themselves of what is
" past, to a Perseverance in Guilt for the future,
" by opposing the Quiet and Happiness of their
" Country in the Restoration both of *King, Peers,*
" and People, to their Just, Antient, and Funda-
" mental Rights ; We do by these Presents declare,
" That we do grant a *Free and General Pardon,*
" which We are ready, upon Demand, to pass un-
" der Our Great-Seal of *England,* to all Our Sub-
" jects of what Degree or Quality soever, who with-
" in forty Days after the publishing hereof, shall
" lay hold upon this Our Grace and Favour, and
" shall by any publick Act declare their doing so,
" and that they return to the Loyalty and Obedi-
" ence of good Subjects ; excepting only such Per-
" sons as shall hereafter be excepted by *Parliament* :
" Those only excepted, Let all Our Subjects, how
" faulty soever, rely upon the Word of a King,
" solemnly given by this present Declaration, That
" no Crime whatsoever committed against Us, or
" Our Royal Father before the Publication of this,
" shall ever rise in Judgement, or be brought into
" Question against any of them, to the least Enda-
" magement of them either in their Lives, Liber-
" ties, or Estates, or (as far forth as lies in our Power)
" so much as to the Prejudice of their Reputations,
" by any Reproach, or Terms of Distinction from
" the Rest of Our best Subjects ; We desiring and
" ordaining, That henceforth all Notes of Discord,
" Separation, and Difference of Parties, be utterly
" abolished among all Our Subjects, whom We in-
" vite and conjure to a perfect Union among them-
" selves under our Protection, for the Re-settlement
" of Our Just Rights and Theirs, in a *Free Parlia-*
" *ment,*

1660.

“*ment*, by which upon the Word of a King We will be advised.

“And because the Passion and Uncharitableness of the Times have produced several Opinions in Religion, by which Men are engaged in Parties and Animosities against each other, which when they shall hereafter unite in a Freedom of Conversation, will be composed, or better understood; We do declare a Liberty to tender Consciences; and that no Man shall be disquieted, or called in Question for Differences of Opinion in Matters of Religion, which do not disturb the Peace of the Kingdom, and that we shall be ready to consent to such an *Act of Parliament*, as upon mature Deliberation shall be offered to Us, for the full granting that Indulgence.

“And because in the continued Distractions of so many Years, and so many and great Revolutions, many Grants and Purchases of Estates have been made to and by many Officers, Soldiers, and others, who are now possessed of the same, and who may be liable to Actions at Law, upon several Titles; We are likewise willing that all such Differences and Things relating to the said Grants, Sales and Purchases, shall be determined in *Parliament*, which can best provide for the just Satisfaction of all Men who are concerned.

“And We do farther declare, that We will be ready to consent to any *Act* or *Acts of Parliament*, to the Purposes aforesaid, And for the full Satisfaction of all Arrears due to the Officers and Soldiers of the Army under the Command of General *Monk*, and that they shall be received into our Service upon as good Pay and Conditions as they now enjoy.”

*Vote of the
Lords in
favour of
the King.
Baker, p
103.*

Immediately after the Reading of this Declaration, the Lords voted, *That according to the antient and fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, the Government is, and ought to be by King, Lords, and Commons.*

A. er

After that, Sir *John Greenvil* came to the House of *Commons*, and presented a Letter to them from his Majesty, with the same Declaration inclosed, which was read, as well as the Letter that was directed to General *Monk* to be communicated to the Council and the Army. These Papers, which, three Months before, would have been suffered to lie on the Table without any Notice taken of them, were now deemed convincing Proofs of the King's good Intentions, and Reasons sufficient to restore him to the Exercise of Royal Power, with no other Conditions but what himself should be pleased to grant. The *Commons* therefore readily concurred to the Vote of the Lords; and thus the King saw himself restored without any of the Conditions which had cost so long a War, and so great an Effusion of Blood. This is a clear Evidence either that the *Royalists* were very much superiour in Number in the House, which nevertheless is not very probable, or that the *Presbyterians* were willing to desist from Conditions which they had once so zealous demanded, for other Terms relating to their Religion, which had been promised; but which, as they were never performed, gave too just Ground for Complaint afterwards.

The King being effectually recognized, by the Vote of both Houses, the *Commons* voted a Present of Fifty Thousand Pounds to him, another of Ten Thousand to the Duke of *York*, and a third of Five Thousand to the Duke of *Gloucester*. Sums so large had never before been in the Disposal of these Princes *.

Then the *Commons* ordered that all the Journals should be searched, and those Acts and Orders razed or which were inconsistent with the Government of King, Lords, and *Commons*. The Army, the Navy, and the City of *London* prepared Addresses to congratulate

1660.
The *Commons* receive a Letter from the King, with the Declaration.

The *Commons* concur with the Lords, and the King is restored without any Conditions.

Presents made by the *Commons* to the King, Duke of *York*, and Duke of *Gloucester*.
Baker p. 705.
Ibid. p. 706.
Clarend. VI.

* The City of *London* sent also to the King and his Brothers Twelve Thousand Pounds. *Coke's Det.* II. p. 102.

1660.

The King
proclaimed
May 8.
Baker, p.
708.

Deputies
from the
Parlia-
ment and
City to the
King.

Baker, p.
707.

Clarend.
ps 768.

Conference
between

some Pres-
byterian
Ministers
and the

King. Ibid.

The King
gives Au-
dience to

the Depu-
ties from

the Par-
liament,

May 16.

Arrives at
Whitehall,

May 29.

Baker, p.
710, 711.

gratulate his Majesty on his Restoration, and to promise a perfect Obedience to him, and these Addresses were delivered to *Clarges*, who undertook to carry them to the King. The 8th of *May* the King was proclaimed in *London* with great Solemnity, and Deputies from the Parliament and City departed on the 11th to wait on the King, who expected them at the *Hague*. Some *Presbyterian* Ministers likewise repaired thither, as well to imprint on the King a Sense of the Service lately done him by their Sect, as to sound his Inclinations with Regard to the Liberty, which they had probably stipulated, before they engaged in the Affair of his Restoration. The King confirmed by Word of Mouth what he had promised by his Declaration. But when they insinuated to him, that he ought to suppress the Use of the *Common-Prayer* in his Chapel, and the wearing of the Surplice, he warmly answered, *That whilst he gave them Liberty, he would not have his own taken from him.*

After the King had given Orders to the Deputies of the Parliament the 16th of *May*, and received the Homage of Admiral *Montague*, and the other Officers of the Navy, who waited on him at *Scheveling*, he stayed some Days at the *Hague*, as well to prepare for his Departure, as to receive the Compliments of the *States*. He took Shipping the 23d of *May*, arrived at *Dover* the 26th, and the same Day at *Canterbury*, where, the following Day, he honoured *Monk* with the Order of the *Garter*. The 29th, the Day of his Birth, he arrived at *Whitehall*, through infinite Crowds of People, all testifying by the loudest Acclamations, their Joy in his Restoration *.

* *Burnet* observes in the History of his own Times, that Unanimity appeared in the Proceedings of the Parliament for King's Restoration, that there was not the least Dispute among them, but upon one single Point; yet that was a very Important *Hale*, afterwards the famous Chief Justice, moved the Committee might be appointed to look into the Propositions had been made, and the Concessions that had been offered by

1660.

late King, and from thence digest such Propositions, as they should think fit, to be sent over to the King. This was seconded, but by whom the Bishop forgot. As such a Motion was foreseen, *Mont* was instructed how to answer it; he told the House, that he had Information of such Numbers of Incendiaries still in the Kingdom, that if any Delay was put to the sending for the King, he could not answer for the Peace either of the Nation or Army. And as the King was to bring neither Army nor Treasure with him, either to fright or corrupt them, Propositions might be as well offered to him when he should come over: so he moved for sending Commissioners immediately. This was echoed with such a Shout over the House, that the Motion was no more insisted on. And this, says *Burnet*, was indeed the great Service *Mont* did. To the King's coming in without Conditions, may be well imputed all the Errours of his Reign, and, it may be added, many Mischiefs that followed afterwards.



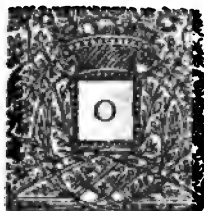


THE
HISTORY of *ENGLAND*.

BOOK XXIII. SECT. I.

26. CHARLES II.

'1660.
*Portraits of
the several
Factions
on the
King's Ar-
rival.*



ON the Arrival of the King, there was an entirely new Scene of Things in *England*: Joy, Pleasures, publick and private Rejoicings succeeded to Trouble, Fear, and Consternation. The People were so tired with the manner of Life they had led for the last twenty Years, that they were of Opinion nothing worse could succeed it. Every Man rejoiced in seeing a Calm coming after so long a Storm, and expected to enjoy a Tranquillity which had been sought in vain through the Course of so many Years. The *Royalists* and *Episcopalians* saw themselves raised at once to the height of their Wishes, in beholding *Charles II*, placed upon the Throne of his Ancestors, and the Church of *England* in a Way to resume her former Lustre. The *Presbyterians* flattered themselves that their late Services for the King, would, at the least, obtain for them an entire Liberty of Conscience,

1560.

ence, and the free Exercise of their Religion. The *Republicans, Independents, Anabaptists* could not, indeed, hope to see themselves restored to the State they had been in for so many Years; but they, at least, expected an entire Impunity, agreeably to the *Breda Declaration*. The Regicides, that is, the late King's Judges, were the only Persons that could not but expect the Punishment they justly deserved, and yet even they were not without Hopes from the King's Clemency, as indeed, such of them as cast themselves upon it, were not wholly deceived in their Hopes. We are not therefore to be surprized that the whole Kingdom should eccho with Shouts of Joy, and unite in receiving with loud Acclamations a King, who, according to the general Expectation, was to restore the Publick Tranquillity and Happiness, and put all Things in their natural Order.

Charles II, at the Time of his Restoration, was thirty Years of Age, and but little known to the greatest Part of his Subjects, as his Life had been led out of his Dominions. His Actions in the *West*, where he commanded for the King his Father, had been distinguished by no advantagious Events. His Conduct in *Scotland*, when he was called to the Crown of that Kingdom, had, by no Means, redounded to his Honour, since in his Declaration published there, he had not scrupled to sacrifice the King his Father to his own private Advantage. In short, the Battle of *Worcester* had acquired him no Reputation, in which some pretend he had been too careful of his Person, though others speak of his Valour on that Occasion with great Elogies. However this be, he was defeated, and that did not in the least contribute to raise his Fame as a General. Nevertheless his Friends, in their Views and Endeavours for his Restoration, had published such extravagant Encomiums of him, and with such Assurance, that before his Arrival in *England*, he passed there for an accomplished Prince, endowed with all

*Extreme
prepossession
on in fa-
vour of the
King.*

Design to
render the
King abso-
lute,

the Virtues and Noble Qualities that go to the forming of a Heroe. This Pre-possession did more Mischief to *England*, than all the Calumnies thrown upon the last King. For this equally disposed almost every Body to put an entire Confidence in the new King, who, from the general Character and Opinion of him, was thought incapable to abuse it *. It was hoped that he would be content with restoring the Government upon the Foot it stood under *Queen Elizabeth*, and avoid treading in the Steps of his Grand-Father and Father, without attempting to extend his Prerogative. They flattered themselves so much the more with this Hope, as it was not doubted but that the Example of the King his Father had made a strong Impression upon his Mind. It will be seen hereafter to what Excess this Confidence was carried, and what Use *Charles* made of it to lay the Foundation of the Ruin of the Liberty and Religion of the *English*; a Work which his Successor *James II.*, had certainly accomplished, had not God, by a Revolution the most wonderful, blasted his Designs, when he thought himself most secure of Success. This Project, to render the King absolute by joint and equal Endeavours of *Catholicks* and *Protestants*, begun by *James I.*, vigorously pushed by *Charles I.*, interrupted by the Troubles of twenty Years, was eagerly resumed under the Reign of *Charles II.* If this be not laid down as the Basis of the Events of this Reign, I am at a loss how to account for the Conduct of King

* When the Earl of *Southampton* came to see what *Charles II.* was like to prove, he said once, in great Wrath, to Chancellor *Hyde*, that it was to him they owed all they either felt or feared; for if he had not possessed them, in all his Letters, with such an Opinion of the King, they would have taken Care to have put it out of his Power either to do himself or them any Mischief. *Hyde* answered, He thought the King had a true Judgement, and so good Nature, that when the Age of Reason should be over, and the Idleness of his Exile turned to an Obligation to mind Affairs, that he would have shaken off these Intanglements. *Burn.* p. 89.

1660.

King *Charles II*, unless I could persuade my self that he acted meerly by Caprice without Principles, Maxims, or any manner of Design; but this is not to be imagined of such a Prince, who had as much Wit and Sense as any Prince in *Europe*. But it is not yet time to enter into these Particulars, especially as it is uncertain whether it was formed in the Beginning of this Reign, or owing to some following favourable Conjectures. At least the Conduct of *Charles* immediately after his Restoration, gives no Suspicion of his having then entertained the Thought of it.

I have already said, that *Charles* had embraced the *Catholic* Religion before his Return into *England*. Some have said that he abjured the *Protestant* Religion in Presence of the Cardinal *de Retz*, before he left *France* for the last time. Others pretend, that he made not this Abjuration till the Year 1659, in his Journey to *Fontarabia*, with the View to effect his Restoration, by the joint Endeavours of the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*. However this be, this Secret, known only to the Earl of *Bristol* and Sir *Henry Bennet*, afterwards Earl of *Arlington*, was so well concealed, that the Publick knew nothing of it till after the Death of the King, when his Successor *James II*, was pleased to divulge it. But at this time of Day, it is a Thing of which the World has no room to doubt. It may be assured, that his embracing the *Catholic* Religion was not from any Principle of Conscience, since, in the whole Course of his Life, he shewed an Indifference for all Religions. The greatest Compliment which a famous Author thinks fit to pay him is, by saying, that at the most he was only a *Deist*. This is confirmed by the Character given of him by the Earl of *Mulgrave*, who is by no Means to be suspected of a Design to slander him. His Sentiments of Religion in general may be judged of by what *Dr. Burnet* says of him in his History of his own Times, which is, That he made no manner of Scruple to communicate the same Day in two different Chapels, publicly in the *Pro-*

The King's Religion.

Burnet.

Earl of Mulgrave in his Character of Charles II.

1660 but more especially after he was in a manner sure that the King his Brother had no longer any Hopes of leaving behind him a legitimate Offspring. All the principal Events of this Reign depending properly upon the Humour and Character of these two Princes, I have judg'd it necessary to make the Reader acquainted with both, before I proceed to any other Particulars.

Great Licentiousness in England.

The King was received into *London* with great Acclamations, and it then began to be perceived, that, under colour of publick Rejoicings for the King's Restoration, the *English* were throwing themselves into Dissoluteness, which would not have been endured under the Rule of the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, but which daily increased through this whole Reign, by the ill Examples of the King and the Court.

The King forms his Council.

The King's first Business was to establish a Council, composed chiefly of those who had shewn the greatest Zeal and Affection for himself or the King his Father. He nevertheless received some Men into it, who, one would have thought, should have been kept at a distance from it *. This was the Effect of his Policy. For it was obvious, from his first Entrance upon the Government, that his principal Aim was to lay asleep the former Troubles, which could not be better done, than by securing a perfect Reliance and Confidence in his Promises, published in his *Breda* Declaration. His Intention was to draw a Vall, as much as was possible, over the Hatreds and Animosities which had so long divided his Subjects, and to unite them all in an Obedience to the Laws, and

* There were Thirty in all. The Dukes of York, and Gloucester, Sir Edward Hyde, General Monk, Admiral Montague [Earl of Sandwich] the Marquess of Ormond, the Marquess of Dorchester, the Marquess of Hartford, the Earls of Southampton, Lindsey, Berkshire, Northampton, Northumberland, St. Albans, and Leicester, Viscount Say, the Lords Wentworth, Seymour, Colepepper, and Roberts, Denzil Hollis, Sir Frederick Cornwallis, Sir George Carteret, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Colonel Howard, Arthur Annesley Sir John Berkley, Sir Edward Nicholas, and Sir William Morrice.

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and a sincere Attachment to his Person as their proper and true Center. He laboured for some time with Zeal in this Design, even, as I said, to the receiving into his Council Men who had professed themselves in the Number of his greatest Enemies. In this he imitated the Conduct of his Grandfather Henry IV, of *France*; but, as will be seen hereafter, he was not long suffered to walk in this Path.

Edward Hyde Lord-High-Chancellor, and soon after created Earl of *Clarendon*, was from the first the King's Prime Minister, on whom, with great Reason, he relied with entire Confidence. But, as is very visible from his History of the Civil Wars, he was a mortal Enemy of the *Presbyterians*, and, by Consequence, little proper to preserve the King in his Resolution of procuring Tranquillity indifferently to all his Subjects.

Chancellor
Hyde his
first Minister.

After the King was arrived in *England*, the Assembly, which from the 25th of *April* had been honoured with the Name of a Parliament, was no longer known by any other Appellation than that of a Convention, the King being unwilling to own for a Parliament, an Assembly which had not been convened by his Writs. But this Change of Name was of no long Continuance. Two Days after his Arrival, the King went to the House of *Lords*, where he sent for the *Commons*, and gave his Consent to three Acts; the first to change the Convention into a Parliament; the second to continue the Monthly Tax of seventy Thousand Pounds for three Months longer, and the third to continue all Judiciary Proceedings.

The Parliament
called a
Convention.

Acts passed
by it.

Had the Directions and Orders given for assembling this Parliament been complied with, no Member could have sat in it, who had either served the last or present King. But this Order having been neglected in the Elections, all were admitted without Distinction, or Examination who had been elected. As the Scheme for the King's Restoration was already formed, when this Parliament met, the *Presbyterians*,

The Parliament
chiefly
composed
of Presbyterians.

1660. *rians*, who were much superiour in Number, did not think proper to exclude the *Royalists* with whom they were in perfect Agreement for restoring the King. Neither was it likewise thought convenient to exclude *Republicans*, nor even the *Regicides* themselves, who were not Considerable enough to give any Hindrance to the Design which was laid. This Parliament is therefore to be looked upon as an Assembly where the *Presbyterians* had certainly a Superiority of Voices: Consequently a *Presbyterian Parliament* restored the King to the Throne of his Ancestors, and during their short Continuance, gave him effectual Marks of their Zeal for his Service, and the Re-establishment of Peace and Tranquillity throughout the Kingdom *.

*Principal
Affairs of
the Parli-
ament.*

*An Act of
Indem-
nity.*

The Affairs of Parliament, after the King's Arrival, consisted in three principal Articles. The first was an *Act of Pardon or Indemnity* for whatever had passed since the Beginning of the Troubles. This *Act* was absolutely necessary to give Safety and Repose to so many Persons, or Descendants of Persons who had a Share in these Troubles, and might have been molested, if the Laws had been strictly executed. For as from the Year 1642, the King's Party had been deemed Rebels by those who were then uppermost; the King now coming to rule in his Turn, might have declared Rebels all who had been in Arms either against him or his Father. The Question of Right with Relation to the War between the King and the Parliament remaining yet undecided, it was natural for him who had the Power in his Hands, to explain the Laws in Favour of himself. But on the other Hand, it was to be feared that a Rigour shewn on this Occasion might kindle a new Flame. Besides, it was very difficult to explain in

* Burnet says, these five following Persons, all *Presbyterians*, had the chief Hand in the Restoration: Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper* afterwards Earl of *Shaftsbury*, Sir *Arthur Annesly* afterwards Earl of *Annesley*, *Denzil Hollis*, created Lord *Hollis* of *Isfeld*, the Earl of *Manchester*, and the Lord *Roberts*, p. 96.

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an exact and precise manner, what were the Bounds and Limits of the Rights claimed by either the King or his Subjects, considering the Arguments on both Sides, and the infinite Cavils to which such a Discussion was liable. In a Word, Explications of this Nature had given Rise to the Troubles, which, if it was possible, were now intended to be buried in eternal Oblivion. To cool therefore Men's heated Spirits, and give them a mutual Confidence and Security, the best Expedient that could be thought on was to pass an *Act of Indemnity* for every Thing which had happened during the Troubles.

The second Affair which the Parliament had upon their Hands, was to put the King in a Capacity to disband the Army. There was not one single Reason for keeping on foot an Army which had been the principal Cause of the Disorders committed of late Years, and which might still have disturbed the Peace of the Kingdom under an able Leader. *The Army*

The third Affair was the settling the King's Revenue, since it was absolutely necessary to enable him to support the Government, and put him in a Condition to be courted and feared. On these three important Affairs the Parliament bestowed their first Care, and began with the first as the more urgent. For this Purpose the *House of Commons* solemnly declared, in an Address presented to the King by the whole House, that they accepted, in their own Name, and in the Name of all the *Commons of England*, the Gracious Pardon offered by his Majesty in his Declaration from *Breda*, with Restrictions to such Persons as should be thought proper to be excepted in an *Act of Grace*. The Lords likewise presented a Petition of the like Import. *The King's Revenues.*
The Commons accept the Pardon promised by the King.
So do the Lords.

Immediately after the King published a Proclamation, by which he declared, That all those who sat in Judgement upon the late King, and did not surrender themselves within fourteen Days, should be absolutely excluded from all Benefit of the *Act of Indemnity*. Though the Words of this Proclamation did *Proclamation in Favour of the King's Judges.*

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did by no Means at. re those, who surrendered themselves, of their Lives, it was nevertheless understood that the King made use of this Artifice, only to have it believed that he intended not to limit the Power and Resolutions of the Parliament upon this Matter, and it was not doubted but that the two Houses looked upon this Proclamation as a Sort of Pardon, at least for Life to those who should confide in it. In Consequence of this Proclamation, 19 of the late King's Judges voluntarily surrendered themselves; others withdrew out of the Kingdom, and some were taken in attempting an Escape.

The Republicans demand of the King particular Letters of Pardon.

Whilst the House was employed in the *Indemnity Bill*, some leading *Republicans*, who had not fate upon the King, but exercised Civil or Military Employs during the Troubles, fearing an Inquiry into their past Conduct, demanded of the King *Letters of Pardon* under his Great-Seal, in order to screen themselves from all Prosecution. The King granted their Request, without suffering himself to be solicited, shewing thereby that he really intended to execute his Promise in his *Breda Declaration*. For he was perswaded that there was no better Means to pacify the Troubles, and restore mutual Confidence among his Subjects, than the exact Observation of his Promises.

The King his Brothers, &c. dine in the City.

The 5th of July the City of London invited the King and the two Princes his Brothers, the great Officers of the Crown, and both Houses of Parliament to an Entertainment, which, in Magnificence was answerable to the Riches of the City which gave it, and the Quality of the Persons who were invited to it.

The Act of Indemnity meets with some hindrances.

Though the King had a real Intention to dispatch the *Act of Indemnity* out of Hand, yet it met with great Difficulties in the *House of Commons* with regard to the Clauses which were to be inserted in it. Some of the Members were for having no Notice taken of the *Breda Declaration*, but for making Examples of all who had, with the greatest Zeal, supported the

latu

late Usurpation. This caused Suspensions of the King's being in Intelligence with these Men, and of his intending to suspend the Effect of his Declaration by Means of the Parliament, till he had taken full Revenge of his Enemies. This Suspicion was industriously dispersed amongst the People by Libels, which aimed to destroy all Confidence in the King's Promises, and revive the Troubles by driving those who knew themselves most Criminal to despair. To dissipate therefore these Suspensions, which might have had very bad Consequences, the King sent a Message to the House, to press them to a Dispatch of the *Indemnity Act*, and to draw it up agreeably to the Declaration from *Breda*. This Message had so good an Effect that, a few Days after, the *Act* passed the *House of Commons*, and was sent up to the Lords for their Concurrence.

In this Bill, the *House of Commons* only excepted out of the Pardon a small Number of the most notorious and active *Regicides*. But the Lords, incited by divers Petitions of the Widows, Children, and Relations of Persons executed by Virtue of the Sentences of the Courts erected in the Time of the Usurpation, were for excepting out of the Pardon all who had sat as Judges in those Courts. The King fearing new Delays from this Difference of Sentiments, between the two Houses, came to the *House of Lords* the 27th of July, and in a pathetick Speech, endeavoured to prevail with them to pass the Bill as sent up by the *Commons*. He represented to them *Prepared by the Commons.*

“ That his Honour was concerned to fulfill the Promise made in his Declaration; That he never thought of excepting out of the General Pardon any but the immediate Murderers of his Father; That the Peace and Tranquillity of the Kingdom entirely depended upon the Performance of his Promise, which (says he) if I had not made, I am persuaded neither I nor you had now been here: I pray therefore let us not deceive those who brought or permitted us to come together, and earnestly

The King's Speech to the Lords.

“ desire

1660. “ desire you to depart from all particular Animosi-
 ties and Revenge, or Memory of past Provocati-
 ons, and pass this Act without other Exceptions
 than of those who were immediately guilty of the
 “ Murder of my Father.”

*Amend-
ments
made by
the Lords
to the Bill
of the
Commons.*

This Speech, and a Message sent by the King to both Houses on the same Subject, determined the Lords to Act conformably to the Declaration from *Breda*. They therefore sent the Bill to the *Commons* with two *Amendments*. The first related to twenty Persons, who, by the *Common's* Bill were subject to all those Penalties which it should please the Parliament to inflict, Death excepted, though they were not of the Number of the King's Judges. The Lords entirely refused their Consent to this Clause, because it was contrary to the Declaration from *Breda*. The other *Amendment* related to the 19 Judges of the late King, who had voluntarily surrendered themselves upon the King's Proclamation of the 6th of *June*. For the Lords were for having included in the Act, both as to Life and Estate, these Nineteen, who had distinguished themselves from the rest by the Confidence which they had in the King's Clemency; whereas the *Commons* were only for granting them Life, leaving them liable to Forfeiture of Estates, Imprisonment, Banishment, or such other Penalties as the Parliament should think convenient. This was the Subject of several Conferences between the two Houses, which, in the end, produced an Unanimity of Sentiment, agreeably to which the *Act* was formed. In one of these Conferences, Chancellor *Hyde* declared, That the King having sent him in Embassy, to the King of *Spain*, had expressly charged him to tell that Monarchy, That the horrible Murder of his Father ought not to be deemed as the *Act* of the Parliament or People of *England*, but of a small Crew of Wretches and Miscreants who had usurped the Sovereign Power, and rendered themselves Masters of the Kingdom. This was so agreeable to the *Commons*, that they sent a Deputa-

*Conferen-
ces upon
that Sub-
ject.*

with their Thanks to the King ; at last, the King repairing to the *House of Lords* the 29th of *August*, gave the Royal Assent to the *Act of Indemnity* which contained in Substance :

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Penalties against those who should use any Words of Reproach tending to revive the Memory of the late Troubles, with an absolute Pardon to all those who had been engaged in them, excepting the following Persons ; namely,

Act of Indemnity.
Echard.

Forty Nine of those who had been the late King's Judges, with this Distinction relating to the 19, who had voluntarily surrendered themselves, that if they were condemned, their Execution should be respited till the King and Parliament should order the same.

Oliver Cromwell, *Bradshaw*, *Pride*, and one and Twenty besides, who were Dead, were nevertheless subjected to Confiscations, and other Penalties which it should please the King and Parliament to ordain against them.

Phelps and Sir *Arthur Haslerig* were put in the same Condition.

Hutchinson and *Lassels* were declared incapable of exercising any Employ, and condemned to one Years Forfeiture of the Revenue of their whole Estates.

It was moreover ordained, that *Oliver St. John*, and Seventeen others named in this Article, should be excluded from any Benefit by this Act, if they accepted, or executed any Office in *England*, either Ecclesiastical, Civil, or Military.

All that had given Sentence of Death in any of the late illegal High-Courts of Justice, except Colonel *Ingoldsby* and Colonel *Thomlinson*, were disabled from being Members in any Parliament, or bearing any Office in *England* or *Wales*.

Those who had converted to their Use any Goods belonging to the Church, were excluded from the Benefit of this Act.

Sir

1660.
*Trial and
Execution
of the Re-
gicides.*

During the Adjournment of the Parliament, the King appointed Commissioners for the Tryal of the *Regicides*. The Number of those who were concerned in the late King's Death, as Judges, Officers of the Court of Justice, and others, amounted to Four-score, of which 25 were Dead, 19 had made their Escapes, Seven others who had a less Share in the Crime were made Objects of the King's Clemency, and 29 were condemned to die. But of these 19, who had surrendered themselves upon the Proclamation of the 6th of June, had their Lives saved, but were reserved for other Penalties, as Imprisonment, Banishment, and Forfeiture of Estates. So that 10 only were Executed; *Harrison, Carew, Cook, Peters, Scot, Clement, Scroop, Jones, Hacker, Axtel*. What was most remarkable in the Death of these Men was, that not one of them shewed any Signs of Repentance, or did not think but he died a Martyr. Two of them were with some Difficulty prevailed with to pray for the King. They were almost all *Antibaptists, Enthusiasts, Fifth-Monarchy-Men*, who believed no sort of Violence unlawful to advance the Reign of *Jesus Christ*, and all Men of mean Birth, except *Carew* and *Scroop*.

*A Procla-
mation re-
garding
Religion.*

A few Days after the Parliament was adjourned, the King had published a Proclamation about Religion; containing Eight Articles, of which the greater Part prescribed certain Rules to the Bishops in the Exercise of their Spiritual Jurisdiction. The two last deserve a more particular Notice, because they discover that the *Presbyterians* were not like to continue long undisturbed. The VIIth ran that a certain Number of *Divines* should be appointed to revise the *Liturgy*, and make such Alterations in it as should be judged Necessary, and that scrupulous Persons should not be punished, or troubled for not using it at present. The VIIIth was concerning *Ceremonies*, to which, for the present, no Person should be obliged to conform himself. This Restriction, for the present, makes it evident, that those who advised the King

King to this Proclamation, had no Intention to leave the *Presbyterians* in Possession of that Liberty which had been promised to them by the *Breda-Declaration*, and doubtless by General *Monk*, when they engaged to promote the King's Restoration. 1660.

There were yet living nine of the old Bishops, *The Bishops restored.* who were restored to their *Sees* without any Difficulty*. Seven or eight others were new consecrated; and *Cosens*, against whom so many Complaints had been laid before the Parliament in 1640, was consecrated to the *See of Durham*, where he had once been *Prebend**1. Bishopricks and Ecclesiastical Benefices were offered to the most eminent *Presbyterian*-Ministers, but all refused except *Reynolds*, who accepted of the Bishoprick of *Norwich**2.

I shall not enlarge on the Embassies to the King *Embassies from divers Princes.* from divers Princes of *Europe*, to congratulate him upon his Restoration; the *States of the United-Provinces* were the first who paid their Complements on this Occasion, and at the same Time sent him a good Number of excellent Pictures, drawn by the finest Hands.

In *October* the Princess Dowager of *Orange* came to *London* to congratulate the King her Brother upon his Restoration. And in *November* arrived from *France* the Queen-Mother, who brought with her the Princess *Henrietta* her Daughter, and the Prince *Palatine Edward*, Brother to Prince *Rupert*. It is pretended that the Queen used her Endeavours to prevail with the King to marry *Hortensia Mancini* Niece to Cardinal *Mazarin*: but that Proposal being coldly received. *The Princess Dowager of Orange arrives in England. And the Queen-Mother. Her Business as the Court of England.*

* Namely, *Juxon of London, Pierce of Bath and Wells, Skinner of Oxford, Warner of Rochester, Roberts of Bangor, Wren of Ely, Duppa of Salisbury, King of Chichester, and Frewen of Lichfield and Coventry.*

*1 The Author by Mistake says, *Dean*, he was Dean of *Peterborough*. The rest of the new Bishops were, *Lucy of St. David's, Lansy of Peterborough, Stern of Carlisle, Lloyd of Landaff, Watson of Chester, Gauden of Exeter.*

*2 *Calamy, Baxter, Manton, Bates, and Bowles*, were offered Bishopricks and Deaneries,

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ed, she advised him to pursue the Negotiation of his Marriage already begun with the *Infanta* of Portugal. Thus much is certain, she proposed to the King the Marriage of the Princess *Henrietta*, with the Duke of Orleans, which found no Difficulty. If some Authors are to be credited, she had two other Motives in her Visit. The first was to draw the King her Son into the Interest of *France*, against *Spain*. The second was, to prevail with the King to dismiss the Chancellor, whom she hated, as is evident from his own History. But the King did not think fit to part with so serviceable and affectionate a Minister, to please his Mother.

The Parliament meets.

The Parliament meeting the 6th of *November* made a solemn Deputation to the Queen-Mother, to congratulate her on her Arrival in *England*. Shortly after the *Commons* made a Present of 10000 *l.* to each of the young Princesses her Daughters.

The Duke of York's first Marriage.

The Duke of *York* had since his Return into *England* married the Daughter of Chancellor *Hyde*, to which he had been in some Measure compelled, that young Lady being big with Child. There were not wanting Persons to dissuade the Duke from so unequal a Match. But the King's Affections for the Chancellor over-ruled all Considerations of the Injury which the Duke his Brother, and the Royal House might receive from it. He signified to the Duke that he would do a grateful Thing to him not to use any Shifts in the Matter, and plainly told him, that he must drink as he had brewed, to which the Duke submitted from a Motive of Obedience. One will easily believe that the Queen-Mother, who hated the Chancellor, was not pleased with this Marriage. She refused a long Time to see her Daughter-in-law, and it was at the pressing Instances of the King that she at last was brought to receive the Tender of her Duty. But during her Stay in *England*, she treated her with so much Coldness, that her Aversion to this Marriage was very visible.

The Parliament having in their first Session gone through every Thing relating to the *Act of Indemnity*, applied their next Cares to put the King in a Condition to disband the Army. For this Purpose several Sums were granted him, and in Proportion as the Money came in, Regiments were broke, so that this Work was finished in the space of a few Months. Thus the Army, which had so long held *England* in awe, was reduced to *Monk's* single Regiment, which was the only one left upon the Establishment. But in disbanding the Army, the King introduced a Novelty which was disagreeable to many. This was his forming for his ordinary Guard two Regiments, one of Horse, and one of Foot, in Imitation of the Practice in *France*, and other Kingdoms. This was so much like a standing Army, to which the *English* were always averse, that many began then to fear the King had ill Designs upon the Publick Liberty. His Predecessors had no other Guards than the Gentleman Pensioners established by *Henry VII.*

1660.

Money granted for disbanding the Army.

The King institutes Guards.

The Disbanding of the Army being in such forwardness, the King told the Parliament, that it was his Intention to dissolve them in *December*. Whereupon the *Commons*, to give his Majesty a fresh Instance of their Zeal, confirmed and renewed the Resolution already taken, of granting the King an Annual Revenue of 1200000*l.* but the Time being too short to settle the Funds upon which this Revenue was to be raised, the House thought it more proper to employ the Time that remained in preparing the *Bills* that were to be passed into *Acts* before the Dissolution.

The Vote of the 1200000*l.* to be settled on the King confirmed.

Little Pains has been taken to give us the Reasons that might induce the King to dissolve a Parliament which had been so favourable to him, and shewn such Zeal for his Interest. It is my private Opinion, that the Ministry, and particularly the Chancellor, who was at the Head of it, looked with no good Eye upon a Parliament which had so many Members of *That* 1640, and which according to all Appearance,

The Author's Conjecture upon the Dissolution of this Parliament.

1660. whatever they pretended outwardly, had not lost their antient Principles with Regard to the Royal Authority. The Ministry, doubtless believed, that it would be too difficult an Undertaking for them to manage and govern such a Parliament, at their own Will and Fancy. Besides it is very probable, that the Chancellor, the great Enemy of the *Presbyterians*, had formed the Design of depriving them of the Liberty promised to them, which would have been an impossible Undertaking, if this Parliament had continued : They believed therefore that as the People then stood affected to the King, they would have Credit enough to have a new Parliament returned more proper for the Execution of their Designs. The Transactions of the following Parliament confirm this Conjecture. It must however be said for the Chancellor, that as much as he detested the Maxims of the Parliament of 1640, with Respect to the Royal Authority, he nevertheless went not into the Excesses of the other Faction, nor believed it at all for the Interest of *England* to have a King absolute, and armed with Power to do whatever he should please. This is manifest from an Incident at the very Time I am speaking of. A Member of the *Commons*, Mr. *Alexander Popham* by Name, who had considerable Influence in that House, made a Proposal to the King, that if he could manage the Court-Party, himself would undertake to have a perpetual Revenue of more than two Millions settled on him, which would free him from any Dependance upon his Parliament, except in extraordinary Cases. The Proposal pleased the King, and he spoke to the Chancellor of it, as of a Project advantagious for his Interest. But he bravely answered, *That the best Revenue his Majesty could have was the Affection of his Subjects, which, if once was possessed of, Money would never be wanting to him.* Nor did he rest satisfied with this Answer to the King, but he even took Pains to undeceive the Lord-Treasurer the Earl of *Southampton*, who had approved the Project, and by very solid Reasons con-

vinced him, that the Success of it would be the Ruin of the Kingdom. It is pretended that the Chancellor's Opposition to *Popham's* Project, was one of the chief Causes of his Disgrace. 1660.

The Parliament before their Dissolution ordered the Bodies of *Oliver Cromwell*, *Ireton*, *Bradshaw*, and *Pride*, to be taken out of their Grave, drawn upon a Hurdle to *Tyburn*, and there hung from ten a Clock in the Forenoon, till Sun-set, and then buried under the Gallows. At the same Time an *Act of Attainder* passed, not only against these deceased Rebels, but against all those who had fled, in which Number was *Ludlow*, Author of the Memoirs under his Name. *The Bodies of Cromwell, and other Rebels dug up.*

About the same Time *William Drake*, Citizen and Merchant of *London*, published a Book, intituled, *The long Parliament*, in which he endeavoured to prove, that the said Parliament had not been legally dissolved. The *Commons* brought an Impeachment of High-Treason against the Author, but had not Time to bring it to a Tryal. *A treasonable Libel published.*

At this Time likewise several Army Officers, who had served under *Cromwell*, *Desborough*, *Morgan*, and *Overton*, and others, were taken up upon an uncertain Rumour of a Plot to secure the Person of the King, seize the *Tower*, and kill the Queen-Mother; but it did not appear that this Rumour had any good Foundation. *A pretended Plot.*

At last, on the 29th of *December*, the King came to the Parliament, and gave the Royal Assent to the following *Acts*.

1. An *Act* for Levying the Arrears of the twelve Month's Assessment.
2. An *Act* for the farther supplying several Defects in the *Act* for disbanding the Army.
3. An *Act* for six Month's Assessment, at Seventy Thousand Pounds per Month, to begin the 1st of *January*.

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4. An *Act* for the better ordering the selling of Wines by Retail, and for preventing Abuses in the mingling, corrupting, and limiting the Prices of the same.

5. An *Act* for erecting a Post-Office.

6. An *Act* for an Impost upon Ale, Beer, Cyder, and other Liquors, to hold for his Majesty's Life.

7. An *Act* for the raising of Seventy Thousand Pounds for his Majesty's further Supply.

8. An *Act* for the Attainder of several Persons guilty of the horrid Murder of *Charles I.*

9. An *Act* for Confirmation of Leases and Grants for Colleges and Hospitals.

10. An *Act* to prohibit the Exportation of Wool, and Fuller's-Earth.

11. An *Act* for prohibiting the Planting of Tobacco in *England* and *Ireland*.

12. An *Act* for taking away the *Court of Wards*, and *Liveries*, together with *Tenure in Capite*, *Knights Service*, and *Purveyances*, and for settling a Revenue upon his Majesty in lieu thereof.

After the giving the Royal Assent to these *Acts*, the King made the following Speech to both Houses:

“ *My LORDS and GENTLEMEN,*

Echard,
p. 782.

“ I Will not entertain you with a long Discourse, the Sum of all I have to say to you, being to give you Thanks, very hearty Thanks: And I assure you I find it a very difficult Work to satisfy my self in my own Expressions of those Thanks. Perfunctory Thanks, ordinary Thanks for ordinary Civilities are easily given; but when the Heart is full as mine is, it is a Labour to Thank. You have taken great Pains to oblige me; therefore it cannot be easy for me to express the Sense I have of it. I will enlarge no further upon this Occasion, than to tell you, when I brought me hither, I brought with me an extra

“ *discourse*

“ dinary Affection and Esteem for Parliaments. I
 “ need not tell you how much it is improved by
 “ your Carriage towards me. You have out-done
 “ all the good and obliging Acts of your Predecef-
 “ sors towards the Crown ; and therefore you can-
 “ not but believe my Heart is exceedingly enlarged
 “ with the Acknowledgement. Many former Parli-
 “ aments have had particular Denominations for
 “ what they have done : They have been stiled
 “ *Learned* and *Unlearned*, and sometimes have had
 “ the worst Epithets : I pray let us resolve that
 “ this be for ever called the HEALING, and the
 “ BLESSED PARLIAMENT. As I thank you,
 “ though not enough, for what you have done, so
 “ I have not the least doubt, but when I shall call
 “ the next Parliament (which I shall do as soon as
 “ you can reasonably expect or desire) I shall re-
 “ ceive your hearty Thanks for what I shall then
 “ have done, since I have parted from you. For I
 “ deal truly with you : I shall not more propose
 “ any one Rule to my self in my Actions and Coun-
 “ sels than this : *What is a Parliament like to think of*
 “ *this Action, and this Counsel ?* And it shall be a
 “ Want of Understanding in me if it will not bear
 “ that Test. I shall conclude with this, which I
 “ cannot say too often, nor you too often where you
 “ go : *That next to the miraculous Blessing of God*
 “ *Almighty, and indeed as an immediate Effect of*
 “ *that Blessing, I do impute the good Disposition and*
 “ *Security we are all in, to the happy Act of Indemnity*
 “ *and Oblivion :* That is the principal Corner-Stone
 “ which supports this excellent Building, that creates
 “ Kindness in us to each other, and Confidence in
 “ our joint Security. You may be sure I will not only
 “ observe it religiously and inviolably my self, but
 “ also exact the Observance of it from others : And
 “ if any Person shall ever have the Boldness to at-
 “ tempt to perswade me to the contrary, he will
 “ find such an Acceptation from me, as he would
 “ have, who should perswade me to burn *Magna*
 “ *Charta,*

1660. “*Charta*, cancel the old Laws, and erect a new Government after my own Invention and Appetite.”

The Chancellor's Speech.

This flattering Speech was received by the People with great Applause, every Person pleasing himself that a Prince of this Character could have no other Views, than the making his Subjects enjoy Peace and Plenty. The King's Speech was followed by one to the two Houses from the Chancellor, much longer, but pointing to the same Design, that is, to persuade the People that the King being extremely tender of them, had no other Aim in all his Actions than their Happiness. He forgot not to mention the pretended Conspiracy, for the Subversion of the present Government. But without entering into a large Detail of it, he contented himself with assuring the Houses that the Conspiracy was real, and that *Ludlow*, one of the fugitive Regicides, was deeply concerned in it. This Insinuation was necessary on two Accounts. The First to convince the People of the Necessity of putting the *Militia* into the King's Hands, to enable him to curb the Insolence of Malecontents and factious Persons. The Second to furnish a Pretence for the Breach of the King's Promise, in his *Breda*-Declaration, from the indispensable Necessity of providing for the Safety of the State, against the ill Designs of the Sectaries. This will be seen more clearly in the Sequel. After the Chancellor had ended his Speech, he declared the Parliament dissolved.

the Parliament solved. Remark on this dissolution.

Thus ended this Parliament, about eight Months after the first Opening, and seven after the King's Restoration. I have already observed that most of the Members were *Presbyterians*, or at least that Party had the greatest Sway in the Parliament. For t Reason, without doubt, some Writers magnifying wh this Parliament did for the King, and its Dispositio to favour his Interests, have hinted that it was owing to little less than a Miracle, that it did not surrender into the King's Hands the whole Liberties of the Nation. But this is an Exaggeration whi

1660.

has nothing to support it. Look into all the *Acts* of this Parliament, and nothing will be met with there to give any Countenance to this Opinion. The King was recalled by it; but certainly that Step will be forgiven. A Revenue of Twelve Hundred Thousand Pounds was voted by it for the King. But it was only voted, and executed by the succeeding Parliament. The *Act* of *Indemnity* at the King's pressing Instance was passed by it, and this was absolutely necessary. The King had a Supply granted by it, to pay off the Fleet and the Army. But could this be avoided without endangering the publick Tranquillity? A Present was made by it to the King, of Money for his Necessities, in no extraordinary Sums, and another of Thirty-seven Thousand Pounds to his Brothers and Sisters. But was any Thing more just or more natural than to enable him to support the Expences of his Family, till his own Revenues could be settled and established? This Parliament therefore did nothing which with any Colour can be wrested to a Disposition of delivering up the Liberties of the Nation. But it will be afterwards seen that this Disposition, which is only imaginary, as it relates to this Parliament, was really and truly in that which succeeded it: And that after having done too much, it saw a Necessity of-changing its Measures, and using extraordinary Means to oppose the Designs of that very King, to whom it had given a Power almost unlimited. Nevertheless the Conduct of this second Parliament has escaped without Censure, at the same Time when the Compliance of the first has been aggravated beyond all Bounds. The Reason of this Difference is very obvious, being no other than that the second Parliament went more willingly into the Views and Principles of the Writers, who have so severely remarked on the former. In short, if it is considered that the first Parliament sat only seven Months after the King's Restoration, and that the second continued eighteen Years, it will be easily understood which of the two ought, with most Reason,

to

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to be charged with the Design of delivering up the Liberties of the Nation into the Hands of the King.

Death of
the Prin-
cess of O-
range.

The Conclusion of this Year brought the King a new Subject of Affliction in the Death of the Princess of *Orange* his Sister, who died of the Small-Pox the 24th of *December*, at the Age of Twenty-nine Years. She left but one Son, who was afterwards King of *England* by the Name of *William III.*

Other
Deaths.

In this same Year died the Earl of *Hartford*, lately restored to the Title of Duke of *Somerset*. He has been often mentioned in the Reign of *Charles I.* Doctor *Hammond* the famous *Divine*, died a little before the King's Restoration.

The Royal
Society
founded.

It was likewise this Year that the Royal Society was erected by *Letters Patents* from the King, who besides granted to it all the necessary Encouragement towards a Discovery of the Secrets of Nature, and of what is most curious and most necessary to be known in Natural Philosophy and Mechanicks.

Before we finish this Year it will not be foreign to our Purpose to say a Word of the Transactions of *Scotland*, from the Time of the King's Restoration.

Affairs of
Scotland.

After the King's Departure out of *Scotland*, at the Head of an Army to make an Invasion upon *England*, the *English* had made an entire Conquest of that Kingdom, under the Conduct of General *Monk*, who was employed by the Parliament. From this Time every Thought or Regard of the King for *Scotland* tended only to foment the publick Differences, and to make some Essays towards a Revolt, by the Assistance of his *Partizans*. For although he had been recognized and crowned in *Scotland*, yet he always regarded his own Interests as directly opposite to those of that Kingdom, or at least of the ruling Party in it. He never loved the *Scots*, and his Belief of their having sold the King his Father to the *English* Parliament, contributed greatly to his Prejudice against them. Nor was it at all diminished by his Residence in that Country. His Restoration to the *English* Throne rendered him doubly Master of *Scott-*

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first, as he was its natural King, and as such had been crowned there; and secondly, as *Scotland* had been conquered by the *English*, nothing would have been more easy than to have left *Scotland* in Dependence upon the *English* Crown, as there was no likelihood that the *Scots* could ever be in a Condition to recover their Liberty. It seems that even the King was not averse to this Thought, since he had suffered *Scotland* to continue in the Hands of the *English*, more than two Months after his Restoration. But at last he came to a Resolution of restoring this Kingdom to its antient Constitution, by making it a separate State, independent of *England*. For this Purpose *Monk* wrote in the King's Name to the *English* Judges there, to discontinue their Functions the 22d of *August*; and at the same Time the King issued out his Orders for a Convention of the Committee of the Estates, till a Parliament should be called. He named the Great Officers of the Kingdom, and took Care to chuse into those Employes, and to form his Council of, Men believed to be most firmly devoted to him. The Earl of *Glencairn* was made Chancellor, the Earl of *Crawford* was restored to the Treasury, the Earl of *Cassils* was made Justice-General, the Earl of *Lautherdale* first Secretary of State, and General *Middleton* was declared the King's Commissioner. These Men, as well as those who formed the Council, had been always firmly attached to the King's Interests. Thus the *Scots*, freed from the Yoke laid on them by *Cromwell*, returned to the State they were in before the Troubles broke out in 1637, that is to say, to the Government of a King and Ministers entirely conformable in their Principles to those of *Charles I.* and the Ministers of that Time. But there was this disadvantageous Difference, that the *Scots* were no longer in a Condition to make themselves feared, being entirely subdued. They had soon Occasion to know what they were to expect. Some of their Ministers being met together for the drawing up a Petition concerning their *Grievances*, were sent to Prison by the

1660.

the Committee of the Estates, without any Examination of the Nature, the Motives, or the Language of the *Petition*, as if the bare Design of presenting it had been Criminal. Besides a Proclamation came out, forbidding all sorts of unlawful Assemblies and seditious Writings, the Committee supposing that the Minister's Assembly and Petition were of that Nature. This might have satisfied the *Presbyterians*, who were the Bulk of the *Scottish* Nation, what was preparing for them, and that they had no other Remedy but Submission and Patience.

They had still another very convincing Proof. The Marquess of *Argyle* being in *London* to pay his Duty to the King, was arrested, sent to the *Tower*, and afterwards to *Scotland*, to be there tryed on an Impeachment of High-Treason. The King in his Declaration from *Breda*, had made no mention of *Scotland*. This left the *Scots* to the Resentment and Vengeance of their Enemies. Amongst these Chancellor *Hyde* was one of the most violent, as he has plainly enough discovered in his History of the Civil Wars; and unhappily for the *Scots*, he was now Prime Minister in *England*, and had the principal Direction of the King's Affairs. Some indeed of the *English* Council were of Opinion, that it would turn to the King's Advantage to suffer the *Scots* to enjoy the Benefit of his *Breda*-Declaration. But the contrary Advice prevailed, whether from the King's Animosity, and that of his Counsellors, or from the Hopes of such as had faithfully served the King in his Troubles, of having the Estates of all condemned Persons.

This Resolution being taken, the King called a Parliament in *Scotland* to meet the 12th of *December*, and published a Proclamation, declaring that he left it entirely to this Parliament to examine into the Conduct of his Subjects of *Scotland*; and that after Satisfaction made to his Honour, and his Prerogative published, he would grant a Pardon which would cover his earnest Desire for the Happiness of his

ple. It will be seen afterwards what Method he took to procure this Happiness to his People of *Scotland*. 1660.

With regard to *Ireland*, the King committed the Government of it to Sir *Morrice Eustace* Chancellor, the Earls of *Orrery* and *Montraith*, in Quality of Lords-Justices, till a Lord-Lieutenant should be appointed. *Affairs of Ireland.*

The Year 1661 was ushered in by an extraordinary Event. This was an Insurrection of some *Entbusiafts*, who expected the *Fifth-Monarchy*, or the Reign of *Jesus Christ* on Earth, and believed themselves under Obligations of Conscience to use their utmost Endeavours to promote it. 1660-1. *Insurrection of the Anabaptists under Venner.*

As I have elsewhere spoken of these Men, and as their Principles are sufficiently known by the Tragedies acted by them at *Munster*, and other Places of *Germany*, it will be needless to give here a particular Account of their Tenets. The 6th of *January*, while the King was attending the Queen-Mother, and the Princess his Sister to *Dover*, in their Return to *France*, about Fifty of these Men, under the Conduct of one *Thomas Venner*, assembled in the Night in *St. Paul's Church-yard*, and killed a Man, who to the Question of *who goes there?* had answered, *for God and the King*. This gave an Alarm to the City, which sent a Detachment of its *Militia* against them, who were immediately defeated. This gave them Time to march through divers Streets, and at last to leave the City and retire to *Cane-Wood*, from whence a Detachment of Horse and Foot sent by General *Monk* dislodged them, and took some Prisoners. But this did not prevent the rest from returning back into the City, where they fought like Madmen, till they were obliged to take Sanctuary in a House. They there defended themselves like Men fearless of Death, or rather as secure from all Danger under the Protection of *Jesus Christ*. Here it was that *Venner*, himself being wounded, and Twenty of his own Men and as many of the Assailants killed, was taken Prisoner with all those who stood by him. A few Days after

1660-1. after they were all tryed, condemned and executed, without any Confession of Guilt, and persisting in their Extravagances to the last. Two Young Men only of the whole Number shewed some Signs of Repentance.

The Court takes occasion from this Insurrection to forbid Conventicles.

Though this Attempt can with no Justice be considered as the Consequence of a Design formed by a whole Party; nay, though the *Anabaptists* should be supposed all guilty of it, other *Sects* ought to lie under no Imputation: And yet the Court made Advantage of this Insurrection to confirm the Rumours of a Conspiracy against the Government. The King took Occasion from it to issue out a Proclamation, forbidding all sorts of *Meetings* and *Conventicles* under Colour of Religion; and commanding the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* to be tendered to all Persons ill-affected to the Government. In Case of Refusal, they were to be prosecuted on the *Statute* of the 7th of *James I.*

A Remark upon this Subject.

The Reader, without doubt, will be astonished to see all the other Sectaries, from the Extravagancies of some *Anabaptists*, in which they had no Share, involved in the common Prohibition to hold religious Assemblies, contrary to the express Terms of the Declaration from *Breda*. But it will be immediately seen that the Ruin of the *Presbyterian-Party* was already resolved on, and that Pretexts were only wanted to execute this Design, such Pretexts particularly, as might encourage a Belief, that the Safety of the King and the Government were only intended by what was done. The End proposed was to insinuate, that Religion was no ways concerned, but only the State, and thereby obviate the Objection which would naturally be drawn from the *Breda-Declaration*, wherein the King had solemnly promised that no Person should be molested on account of his Religion. To succeed in this Design, an admirable Expedient was contrived. This was to range under the same Denomination all the *Sects* differing from the Church of *England*, in order to charge the whole Body,

The Name of Non-conformist applied indifferently to all Sectaries.

Body, consisting of all these several *Sects*, with a Crime which only belonged to one of them, had they been duly distinguished. This Denomination was that of *Dissenters* or *Non-conformists*, and under it were comprehended as well the *Presbyterians*, as the *Papists*, *Anabaptists*, and other *Sectaries*. Thus by this affected Confusion, all the *Non-conformists* were charged with the Faults of one of the *Sects* comprised under this Denomination, and, as if they had composed but one and the same Body, punished without Distinction, on the Pretence of keeping them under, and preventing them from giving any Disturbance to the State. The *Catholicks*, the *Independents*, the *Anabaptists*, were *Non-conformists*. Precautions therefore were to be taken against the *Non-conformists*, and consequently against the *Presbyterians*, because their Enemies were pleased to comprehend them under the same general Appellation. Undeniable Proofs of what I advance here will afterwards be seen. The Truth is, the *Presbyterians* only were properly aimed at, whose Ruin was resolved on, notwithstanding the Declaration from *Breda*. For indeed it is not at all likely that a King, who had privately embraced the *Romish* Religion, would set up for a Persecutor of the *Catholicks*. And the *Independents* and *Anabaptists* made at that time so despicable a Figure, that the King's Ministers had but little to fear from them. But supposing they had been something formidable; yet why were they not distinguished from the *Presbyterians*, who had given no Cause to any such Suspicions? All this therefore was only done to save, in some measure, the King's Honour, at a time when his Promises, contained in his Declaration from *Breda*, were openly evaded. This Word, *Non-conformists*, is therefore to be considered as an ambiguous Term, which indeed signifies Men who conform not themselves to the Church of *England*; but not in a Sense which some give it, as of a Body of Men inseparably united, composed of all the *Dissenters*, and

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acting

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1660-1. acting with the same Views, and for the same Interest.

Conference at the Savoy between the Bishops and Presbyterian Ministers. Some of the *Presbyterian* Ministers observing that Endeavours were used to confound them with *Sects* with whom they had no relation, petitioned the King for a Conference between themselves and the Bishops, in order to an Examination of the Differences between them, and of their Objections to the *Book of Common-Prayer*. The King took them at their Word, and immediately named Twelve Bishops as Principals, and Nine other Clergymen as Assistants; and on the Presbyterian Side, Twelve Ministers as Principals, and Nine others as Assistants, to confer together at the Bishop of London's House, who then lodged in the *Savoy* *. The Commission ran: "That

" the Commissioners appointed should meet during
 " the Space of Four Months, from the 25th of
 " *March*, to Advise upon and Review the *Book of*
 " *Common-Prayer* ;-----to take into their serious and
 " grave Considerations the several Directions and
 " Rules, Forms of Prayer, and Things in the said
 " *Book of Common-Prayer* contained; and to advise
 " and consult upon and about the same, and the se-
 " veral Objections and Exceptions which shall now
 " be raised against the same; and if occasion be, to
 " make such reasonable and necessary *Alterations*,
 " *Corrections*, and *Amendments*, as shall be agreed upon
 " to be needful and expedient for giving Satisfaction
 " to tender Consciences, and the restoring and continu-
 " ance of *Peace* and *Unity* in the Churches under his
 " Majesty's Government and Protection-----And to
 " certify to his Majesty in Writing, under their several
 " Hands, the *Matters* and *Things* whereupon they shall
 " so determine, to be by his Majesty approved, &c."

Thus the King gave to these Twenty-one Ministers a Power which they had never desired, to decide, as well for themselves as their Brethren, to the Number

* *Rapin* has put the Number of the Principals of each Side for that of the Assistants, and the contrary.

of more than Two Thousand, and for the whole Body of the *Presbyterians*, what was necessary to be altered in the *Liturgy*, without empowering them to meet before-hand to settle amongst themselves what they should ask, in order to an Union with the Church of *England*. 1660-1.

From the first Day of the Conference it was easy to foresee it would have no successful Issue. For though the Ministers had already acquainted the King and the Chancellor that they could decide nothing, unauthorized as they were by those who could only give them Power, the Bishop of *London* * immediately told them, that as themselves had demanded this Conference, it belonged to them to produce at once, and under their Hands, all their *Exceptions* to the *Liturgy*, together with the additional *Forms* and *Alterations* which they desired. The Ministers answered, as they had before done to the King and the Chancellor, That they could decide nothing without having first consulted with their absent Brethren, and received from them a Commission in Form. This tended to a Request, that they might be permitted to meet in Synod and debate together on these Matters: But this was never meant to be granted them. They were therefore urged only to declare their own Sense, when it was seen that they could not be brought to act as Deputies of a Body, which had indeed never commissioned them. To this was answered, That they were willing to give in Writing their particular Sentiments, provided that at the same Time the Bishops should bring in their utmost Concessions, to the end that by comparing all the Articles together, one might in some Measure judge of the Success of the Conference. But the Bishops peremptorily rejected this Proposal. At last the Ministers consented to produce at once all their Objections, reserving to themselves nevertheless a Power to make Additions to them, in consequence of the Answers which they 1661.

* *Sheldon*.

1661. should receive, and their Offer was accepted. This Plan was therefore put in Practice, and after a Discussion of the Objections and Answers, some slight Alterations in the *Liturgy* were agreed to. But besides that the Ministers considered these Alterations as insufficient, there was another invincible Obstacle to an Accommodation, and that was the Want of a Commission to the Ministers from their Brethren, which made whatever they said to be looked on as only their own private Opinion.

I shall enter no farther into the Detail of this Conference, because, to a thorough Understanding of it, is required a competent Knowledge of the *English Liturgy*, and the Manner in which *Divine Service* is celebrated, which cannot be supposed with Regard to the Generality of Foreigners, for whom I write this History. I shall content my self therefore with some general Remarks, to assist the Reader in his Enquiries into the Differences betwixt the Church of *England* and the *Presbyterians*, and the Conduct of the one and the other Party.

Observations upon the Differences between the Churchmen and Presbyterians.

During the whole Reign of King *James*, and the Fifteen first Years of *Charles I*, the *Presbyterians* were under Oppression, or at least it may be said, that the Church of *England* did not treat them with all the Tenderness which Christian Charity seemed to require. From the Beginning of the Parliament of the 3d of November 1640, the Church of *England* was persecuted in her Turn, and *Episcopacy* itself at last abolished. After the *Independents* had rendered themselves Masters of the Parliament and Army, the *Episcopalians* still continued under Oppression, and though the external Form of Church-Government was then *Presbyterian*, which had been introduced, there was nevertheless an entire Liberty granted to all *Protestant* Sects, which the *Presbyterians* looked upon as a violent Persecution. This State of Things in the Church continued till the Beginning of the Year 1660, when *Monk* having formed the Design of restoring the King, believed it could not be effected without

without a Restitution of that very *Presbyterian* Parliament which had abolished Episcopacy. This Expedient was crowned with Success; and by the United-Endeavours of the *Presbyterians* and *Episcopalians*, the King was at last resettled on the Throne. The Restoration of the King produced that of the Church of *England*, which found itself at once in almost the same Condition she had been in the Year 1640. There was nevertheless this Difference, that, during the Troubles, the Number of the *Presbyterians* was prodigiously increased, and so become considerably more formidable than they had been under the Reign of King *James*, and the first Fifteen Years of *Charles I.* It was therefore the Interest of the Church of *England*, either to Ruin entirely the *Presbyterian* Party, which might once more endanger both Church and State, or bring them into the National Church by some small Concessions. For this last Project the Conference now mentioned seemed to be intended.

But these same Conferences upon Matters of Religion are seldom attended with any happy Success: First, because, in order to this, the two Parties must be equally animated with the Spirit of Peace and Charity, which is rarely found amongst Men, and, if I may venture to say, still more rarely amongst Church-men. Secondly, because in these Conferences there is usually a Party which is superiour, and in Possession of Power, and is therefore not very ready to throw up these Advantages, and reduce itself to an Equality. Wherefore no Success is to be expected, unless one of the Parties will yield every thing to the other. This recalls to my Mind a Saying of a *French* Catholick, a Man of Wit, to a Minister after the Conclusion of the Religious War in *France*: *If, said he, you would have come to a Composition with us while the Sword was in your Hand, we might have made you some Concessions; but as you are conquered, you must not expect that we will give up so much as the Christning of Bells.* The Case was very near the same in *England* at the Time I am speaking of. We have seen how

1660. : much was yielded by *Charles I.* in the *Newport Treaty* with Regard to Episcopacy, which if it was not entirely given up by him, was however reduced to a very small Matter. But after the Restoration of *Charles II.* the Use of the *Surplice* was of too great Consequence to Religion to be parted with. Thirdly, the Animosity between the two Parties generally hinders the Conferences from having a happy Issue. The one cannot with any Temper receive Laws from the other, nor think of revoking what has been once established. Fourthly, far from thinking seriously on Peace, both Parties generally lie upon the Catch to surprize one another. Lastly, it too often happens that these Conferences are only granted by the prevailing Party to that which is under, to have it said that Peace was offered, but that the contrary Party rejected it. There is Room to believe that in this Conference all these Circumstances met, and therefore it ought not to surprize us that this had the same Success with so many others of the like Nature ; for in short it broke off without any thing effected, and, as too commonly happens, either Party threw the Blame upon the other. *Mr. Baxter*, in his Relation of it says, that the Bishops were absolutely against yielding any thing. But in another Relation it is said, that the *Presbyterians* were so obstinately wedded to their own Opinions, that they would depart from no one Point : That upon a Proposal made by the Bishop of *Durham*, to deliver in Writing what they thought amiss in the *Liturgy*, they had put into their List all the Articles which kept them from joining with the Church of *England*, without one Exception. They discovered by this their Opinion of the Sinfulness of all the Forms and Practices of the Church of *England*, even to the Use of the *Surplice*, and by Consequence their Aversion to all Thoughts of an Accommodation, unless the other Party came entirely into their Sentiments. These are the Accusations which the two Parties mutually throw upon each other, and about which I am far from deciding

any thing as to the Truth of the Matters of Fact. 1661.
All that I can say, without wronging either Party, is, that the *Presbyterians* ought to have yielded several Points which are manifestly indifferent, and that the Bishops should have made no Scruple to give up the same Points. But it might very well happen that Mens Minds were not then in a Temper for Charity and Condescendence.

While this Conference was depending, the King *The King* was magnificently crowned on St. George's Day, the crowned.
23d of *April*.

The Parliament, which had been summoned for the 8th of *May*, met on the Day appointed. The Representatives, for the most Part, were returned agreeably to the Wishes, and without doubt, by the Influence of the Court. The greatest Part were *Higb-Church-Men*, that is to say, zealous Enemies of the *Presbyterians*, attached to the minutest Points of the publick Worship, and devoted to the King and the Royal Prerogative. They followed exactly the Principles of *Laud* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, which had brought on the Troubles in the late Reign. In a Word, it may be said that this was a Parliament packed by Chancellor *Hyde*, Prime-Minister, and on the 20th of *April* created Earl of *Clarendon*. Let us add farther, that this Parliament was called the *Pensionary Parliament*, because it was afterwards discovered that many of the Members received *Pensions* from the Court. It is true, many will not allow that this was so at first, but pretend that the new Members suffered themselves to be bribed afterwards, as the old ones were carried off by Death. I cannot however avoid remarking, that in the very Beginning this Parliament made some Steps in Favour of the King, which no other had ever taken, and that it was only Time which brought them to retract their extravagant Maxims in favour of the Royal Prerogative. This is a Sign that the Parliament was bribed betimes, notwithstanding what is insinuated to the contrary. However it be, it may be judged how favourable the
T 4 Parliament

1661. Parliament was to the King, since it continued near Eighteen Years, upon which account it was more justly called the *Long-Parliament*. than that which began the 3d of November 1640.

As there is no taking almost one Step in this Reign without meeting with the blended Interests of Religion, whether *Popery* or *Presbyterianism*, and withal, with Things either directly or indirectly relating to the Royal Power, it is absolutely necessary to acquaint the Reader with some Things concerning the Historians. Without this they will never avoid falling into Difficulties, when they read in some Histories Things quite contrary to what they find in others. My Design is therefore, by a few Remarks upon this Subject; First, to prevent their being, insensibly and for want of Examination, carried away with the Opinions or Prejudices of the Historians. Secondly, to incline; and Thirdly, to assist them in some Measure to make this Examination.

Remark
upon the
Historians
of Charles
II.

There are three sorts of Authors who have writ the History of this Reign. The first are those, who make Profession of being of the *High-Church* Party with regard to Religion, and who with respect to the Government are for investing the King with a Power almost unlimited, provided he is in their Interests. These are in a Word what we call the *High-flyers*, or *Rigid Tories*. They are good *Protestants*, but notwithstanding, much less Enemies of the *Papists* than of the *Presbyterians*. For hardly will they allow the Latter to be Christians, because they have no Bishops. Now, according to their Principles, no valid Ordination can be had without Bishops, and consequently no valid Administration of the Sacraments; from whence it follows, that *Presbyterians* baptized by Ministers unordained by Bishops, are not truly baptized.

There is another Set of Writers of this Reign, who being *Protestants*, embrace not the extravagant Principles of the Former, either with Relation to the Church or the Government. These are known by the

the Denomination of *Whiggs*, and have a Mixture of both Churchmen and *Presbyterians*. 1661.

Lastly, There are *Papist* Historians, whose Tenets and Principles are sufficiently known.

Each Sett has writ the History of this Reign agreeably to their own Principles; for this Reason we find Things praised and approved in one Historian, which are blamed and censured in another. For instance, with relation to this second Parliament, some Historians openly maintain that the first Years Transactions, either for extending the Royal Power, or crushing the *Presbyterians*, are agreeable to Reason, Justice, and the Good of the Kingdom; but that whatever was done after the Breach with the King, was the Effect of Corruption and Cabal. Others on the contrary assert, that whatever was done by this Parliament either for the King or against the *Presbyterians*, was the Effect of an extravagant Zeal which hurried them into Measures hurtful to the Nation, and into an implicit Obedience to all the bad Designs of the Court; but that having at last opened their Eyes, and discovered the ill Use made by the Court of this Disposition, they entered into the true Interests of the Kingdom, by an avowed Opposition to the King's Measures.

The *Papist* Historians are of the same Principles with the *High-flying Tories* with relation to the Government. But whereas King *Charles's* Design of introducing *Poper*y into *England* is very unwillingly owned by the *Tories*, the *Papists* on the contrary make a Merit of it, as of a Design very just and religious.

We are therefore to be prepared for these Contrarieties, if we read the several Histories of this Reign, and are to make choice of that Scheme which appears best connected and best supported. For this purpose it will be proper to adhere only to plain Facts, without minding the frequent Insinuations of Historians, who for the most Part take their own Scheme for granted even in the Matters they relate. I own this is difficult: But I suppose that the Reader's Search

1661. is after Truth, which he will never come at by following blindly the first Historian which comes in his way. I have therefore thought it necessary to hint previously to him what he is to expect, and to leave him at his full Liberty to examine my Scheme with the same Freedom with which I would have him do that of others. I now return to the Parliament.

*The King's
Speech to
the Par-
liament.*

The King repairing thither the 8th of *May*, made a Speech to both Houses, in which, after something said of his great Affection for his People, he recommended to their Care two *Bills*, which he had prepared to confirm the *Act of Indemnity*. He repeated the same Words he had said to the last Parliament, Adding, that they were at liberty to take all convenient Measures for the Punishment of *new Offences*: but that he could not believe any wise Man would advise him to violate the Act of Indemnity: That he could not think any such Adviser to be his Friend, since this *Act* was only a solemn Confirmation of what he had promised when he was Abroad: In fine, he communicated to them his intended Marriage with the *Infanta of Portugal*, which had been resolved on with the Approbation of his whole Council.

*He acquaints
them with
his Mar-
riage.*

*The Chan-
cellor's
Speech.*

The Earl of *Clarendon*, Lord-Chancellor, afterwards enlarged on the Particulars touched upon in the King's Speech, but chiefly upon Two which the King had made no mention of. The first related to the seditious Sermons of certain Preachers, which tended to revive the former Animosities, and therefore ought to have their Licence suppressed. The second Point on which he insisted was the late Insurrection, which he aggravated in the strongest Expressions, intimating, that by intercepted Letters it was discovered that this was only the Prelude to a more dangerous Insurrection; and that had not the Vigilance of the Lord-Mayor prevented it, the City had been in danger of being burnt to Ashes. He did not explain himself upon the Authors of these seditious Sermons, because his Design was not to accuse this or that Person, or any particular Sect, but on

*Remark
on it.*

to obtain a general Order against the Preachers who were not of the Church of *England*. As to the Conspiracy discovered, as he pretended by a Multitude of intercepted Letters, it does not appear that any one Person was prosecuted in Consequence of these Letters, or that it was ever proved that any, besides *Venner* and those taken with him, had any Hand in it. It is therefore manifest that this Speech tended only to incense the Parliament against the Sectaries or *Non-conformists* in general, under Colour of providing for the Safety of the King and the State, on a Supposition that it was only from them any Danger could be apprehended. This will appear hereafter to be more than a Conjecture.

Sir *Edward Turner*, the Duke of *York*'s Solicitor-General, being chosen *Speaker* of the House of *Commons*, by the Recommendation of the Court, the two Houses unanimously voted their Thanks to the King for his Gracious Communication of the Marriage, and went in a Body to congratulate him. Afterwards the House of *Commons* ordered all their Members to receive the Sacrament according to the prescribed *Liturgy*, within a certain Time, upon Pain of being expelled the House.

The Commons ordered to receive the Sacrament in the Church of England. Several Acts burnt by the Common Hangman.

The 20th of *May* the two Houses jointly ordered, That the Writing called the *Solemn League and Covenant* should be burnt by the Hand of the Common Hangman; which was performed with great Triumph. Eight Days after, they passed another Order for the burning the following Acts. The Act for the erecting a *Highb Court of Justice* for trying and judging *Charles Stuart*, &c. The Act for subscribing the *Engagement* against a King and House of Peers: The Act for declaring the People of *England* to be a *Common-wealib*, &c. The Act for the renouncing of *Charles Stuart*, and another for the Security of the *Protector's* Person.

The Zeal of the two Houses having given the *Republicans* an Apprehension that the Act of *Indemnity* passed in the late Parliament, would not be sufficient

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ficient for their Security if it was not confirmed by this; they address'd the King to procure this new Security; and at their Request the King writ to the two Houses the 20th of *June*, earnestly recommending to them to pass the *Bill* which he had prepared for that Purpose. He even told them in plain Terms that, let the Necessity of other *Bills* be what it would, he could not pass one unless the *Act of Indemnity* was likewise presented to him. This Letter having produced the desired Effect, the King came to the Parliament the 10th of *July*, and gave the Royal Assent to the following *Acts*.

Acts.

An *Act* to confirm the *Act of Indemnity* passed in the late Parliament.

An *Act* to empower the King to receive from his Subjects, a free and voluntary Contribution for his present Occasions.

After this the King made a short Speech to both Houses, to remind them of his Declaration from *Breda*, and of that which his Adherents had signed when his Restoration began to be talked of, in which they had promised to renounce all Memory of former Unkindnesses, and vowed all imaginable Good-Will to each other. *Therefore*, continues he, *let it be in no Man's Power to charge me or you with Breach of our Word or Promise.*

*Order concerning
some Regicides.*

These two *Acts* being dispatched, the Parliament proceeded with Vigour to finish some others which were before them; and in particular, one for the Confiscation of the Estates of Twenty One *Regicides* deceased, and to punish Three, who were spared as to Life, but reserved for other Penalties. These were the Lord *Monson*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, and *Robert Wallop*. It was ordered with Regard to them, that they should be drawn upon Sledges with Ropes about their Necks to the Gallows at *Tyburn*, and then committed to perpetual Imprisonment.

The 30th of *July* the King came to the Parliament, and gave the Royal Assent to divers Acts.

I. An *Act* for the Safety and Preservation of the King's Person and Government, which had Three remarkable Clauses. 1661.
Other
Acts.

The First, That if any Person should compass, imagine or design the King's Death, Destruction or bodily Harm, to imprison or restrain his Royal Person, or depose him; or should levy War against him within or without his Realm, or stir up any Foreign Power to invade him; or should declare or express such his wicked Intention, by Printing, Writing, Preaching, or malicious and advised Speaking; he should, being thereof legally convicted, be adjudged a Traytor.

The Second, That if any Man should maliciously or advisedly publish or affirm his Majesty to be a *Heretick* or a *Papist*, or that he endeavoured to introduce *Papery*; or should stir up the People to Hatred or Dislike of his Royal Person or Government; that every such Person should be made incapable of any Office or Employment either in Church or State.

The Third, That if any Man should maliciously and advisedly affirm that the Parliament, begun in *Westminster* the 3d of *November* 1640, is yet in Being, or that any *Covenant* or *Engagement* since that Time imposed upon the People, doth oblige them to endeavour a Change of the Government either in Church or State, or that either, or both Houses of Parliament have a Legislative Power without his Majesty, that then every such Offender, being legally convicted thereof, should incur the Penalties of a *Premunire* mentioned in the *Statute* of the 16th of *Richard II.*

The other Acts now passed were:

An *Act* to repeal the Law made in the 17th Year of *Charles I.* for the Exclusion of the Bishops from the House of Peers.

An *Act* to prevent Tumults and Disorders committed under Colour of preparing, or presenting Petitions to the King or Parliament.

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An *Act* to declare the sole Right of the *Militia* to be in the King.

An *Act* to impower His Majesty to dispose of the Land-Forces.

An *Act* for the Regulation and Government of his Majesty's Navies and Forces by Sea.

An *Act* to impose certain Pains and Penalties upon the Persons or Estates of those who had a Hand in the horrible Murder of the late King.

An *Act* for the Collection of the great Arrears of the Duty of *Excise*.

An *Act* for providing necessary Carriages for the King in all his Progresses and Removals.

After these *Acts* had received the Royal Assent, the King thanked the two Houses for them, and particularly for That which restored the Bishops to their Seats in Parliament, and that which related to the *Militia*. This done, he gave them Leave to Adjourn to the 20th of *November*.

*The Par-
liament
adjourned.
A Convo-
cation.*

When the King called this Parliament; he had no Intention to assemble the *Clergy* in *Convocation*, believing that the *Savoy* Conference was equivalent to a *Convocation*. But Dr. *Heylin*, in a Letter written to a Minister of State, proved to him that this Conference ought not to hinder the meeting of the *Clergy*. He alledged, amongst other Reasons, that the *Clergy* could not be bound by the *Acts* of the *Savoy* Assembly. This was precisely what the *Presbyterian* Ministers, appointed by the King, had alledged, to shew that they had no Power to *Act* for their Brethren. This *Convocation* did nothing considerable, except that it granted the King a *Benevolence* pursuant to the *Act* mentioned above.

*Affairs of
Scotland.*

While these Affairs were depending in *England*, they were not less active in *Scotland*. The Parliament there, meeting in *January*, began immediately with abrogating and annulling the *Solemn League and Covenant* of the two Kingdoms; and commanded that none of his Majesty's Subjects presume on Pre-
tence

tence of any Authority whatsoever, to require a renewing, or swearing to the said *League and Covenant*, without his Majesty's special Warrant and Approbation.

They declared the Power of the Militia to be in the King alone: That the *Act* of the 16th of *January* 1647, by which the late King had been delivered into the Hands of the *English* was infamous, disloyal, and contrary to all Laws Divine and Humane.

Episcopacy was restored in *Scotland*, and for this Purpose four *Presbyterian* Ministers, *Sharp*, *Hamilton*, *Barwell*, and *Leighton* came to *London*, where, after they were ordained *Deacons* and *Priests*, they were consecrated *Bishops* by the *Bishop of Winchester*, with two other assisting *Prelates*. All Four renounced their first *Ordination* as invalid, and before they departed for *Scotland*, obtained from the King a Declaration of his Pleasure to restore in *Scotland* the Government of the Church by *Archbishops* and *Bishops*, as it stood in the Year 1637. Pursuant to this Declaration, the *Privy-Council* there strictly discharged all Ecclesiastical Meetings at *Synods* and *Presbyteries*, &c. till they should be authorized by the *Archbishops* and *Bishops*. An *Act* was also passed in the *Scotch* Parliament to prohibit all Meetings and *Conventicles* in private Houses for Religious Worship. By another *Act* the Right of Patronage was revived. And lastly, by another, it was ordained that all Persons admitted to the Exercise of any Publick Office, should sign a solemn Declaration against the *National Covenant* in 1638, and the solemn *League and Covenant* in 1643, in which they declared it unlawful to Subjects upon Pretence of Reformation, or any other Pretence whatsoever, to enter into *Leagues and Covenants*, or take up Arms against the King, or those commissioned by him.

The Marquess of *Argyle* having been sent Prisoner to *Edinburgh*, was there tryed, condemned, and beheaded the 28th of *May*. Many believed that Revenge, The Marquess of Argyle is beheaded at Edinburgh.

1661. venge, and the Avarice of some Persons in Power, who hoped for the Confiscation of his Estate, were Motives more prevailing for his Sentence, than any Reasons from the Justice of it. A few Days before his Death, the Remains of the unfortunate Marquess of *Montrofs* had been solemnly interred, and the Head of the Marquess of *Argyle* was set up in the Place where his stood.

In *England* the Bodies of Sir *Charles Lucas* and Sir *George Lisle*, who were shot to Death at *Colchester*, were likewise honourably interred.

Com-
plaints of
the Royal
ists.

During the Recess of the *English* Parliament, the *Cavaliers* or *Royalists* made great Complaints of the King's Ingratitude, for suffering them to perish with Hunger, while, by the *Act of Indemnity*, he had procured to his Enemies an undisturbed Enjoyment of immense Riches, acquired by dishonest and illegal Practices. The City swarmed with Libels on this Subject. One, amongst the rest, writ by *L'Estrange*, told the King these bold Truths with great Freedom. But the King thought not proper to take any Notice of these Things, believing that the least he could do for the Loyal Sufferers, was to grant them a Liberty of Complaint, since he had it neither in his Inclination nor Power to reward them.

Rumours
of a Con-
spiracy.

To give some Diversion to these Complaints, the City was filled with Rumours of Plots and Conspiracies carrying on against the King's Person and Government. But Numbers were perswaded that this was only an Artifice to incense the Parliament against the *Non-conformists* in general, and the *Presbyterians* in particular, and to afford a Handle to proceed against them. The *Presbyterians* were always confounded with the other *Seets*, under the Denomination of *Non-conformists*, who were charged with having ill-Intentions against the Government, though hitherto the *Presbyterians* had done nothing to deserve the Charge; at least, nothing was proved against them. The most plausible Thing that was urged was, that the *Independents*, *Anabaptists*, and the

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the rest of the *Republicans* seeing that the *Presbyterians* met with no better Treatment than themselves, formed great Designs, in hopes of being joined by the *Presbyterians* when Opportunity should serve. Thus much is certain, that the Plan of the *Act of Uniformity*, which will be spoke of hereafter, was now formed, and that Rumours, true or false, of Conspiracies, might be very useful to palliate the Breach of the Declaration from *Breda*, under Colour of providing for the Safety of the State. For the *Presbyterians* could not be attacked on account of their Religion, without a most manifest Violation of the King's Promise.

The Earl of *Sandwich*, Vice-Admiral, being sent with a Fleet to *Lisbon*, to bring home the new Queen, appeared before *Algier* to make a Truce with the *Cor-sairs*, or reduce them to Reason by Force. But he found them in such Readiness to receive him, that he was obliged to return to *Lisbon* without any Thing done.

The Parliament meeting again the 20th of November, the King made a Speech to both Houses, without any Necessity, as they had only parted by Adjournment. He gave for the Reason of this the Satisfaction he had in seeing the Bishops restored to their Places in Parliament. He then prayed the House of Commons, "to think seriously upon the settling of his Revenue, and providing for the extraordinary Expences of his Navy; adding, that he asked nothing for himself, any farther than as his Interest was united with that of his People." He told them, "That he gave a willing Consent to have his laying out of the Money granted him by Parliament examined into, provided no Regard was had by them to loose Reports scattered about amongst the People, as that he had one Morning given away fourscore Thousand Pounds. That he had much more Reason to be sorry that he had not to reward those who had ever faithfully served the King his Father and himself, than a

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“shamed of any Bounty he had exercised towards
 “any Man.” After this he told the two Houses,
 “That he was sorry to find that the general Tem-
 “per and Affections of the Nation were not so
 “well composed, as might have been expected af-
 “ter such signal Blessings from God Almighty up-
 “on all, and so great Indulgence and Condescensi-
 “ons from him towards all Interests. That there
 “were many wicked Instruments who laboured
 “Night and Day to disturb the Publick Peace,
 “and make all People jealous of each other. That
 “it was worthy of their Care and Vigilance to pro-
 “vide proper Remedies for the Diseases of that
 “kind; that if they found new Diseases, they must
 “study new Remedies: That these Difficulties
 “which concerned Religion were too hard for him,
 “and therefore he recommended them to their Care
 “and Deliberation who could best provide for
 “them.”

*Remarks
 upon this
 Speech.*

When the King published his Declaration at *Breda*, and expressed so much Zeal for the passing an *Act of Indemnity* agreeably to this Declaration, he did not think it out of his Power to give a positive Promise, that no Person should be molested on account of his Religion. But in all Appearance, after the Elections of Members for this new Parliament, in Favour of the *High-Church*, had succeeded according to the Desires of the Ministry, it was suggested to the King, that the best Expedient to obtain whatever he desired, would be to give up the *Non-Conformists* a Sacrifice to the Parliament. It is not at all surprizing that a Prince of his Character, who had secretly embraced the *Roman Catholick* Religion, or, to speak more properly, had no Religion at all, should not think his Honour a sufficient Tie upon him to support the *Presbyterians*, when he was in Danger by it to lose the Affection of his Parliament. One sees him therefore in the Conclusion of this Speech begin to shift, and by talking in general of Persons who were labouring to

to trouble the Peace of the Kingdom, furnish his Parliament with a Pretence of treating the *Non-Conformists* with Rigour; as Disturbers of the Publick Tranquillity. As to Religion, he leaves the Care of it to the Parliament, as of a Thing above his Capacity. By this he departs absolutely from his *Breda Declaration*, and the *Act of Indemnity*, which he had till now laid so great a Stress upon.

This Speech was, as it were, the Signal to the Persecution, which, immediately after, broke out against the *Non-Conformists*, and particularly the *Presbyterians*, who, properly speaking, were solely aimed at. We shall see presently, that upon Rumours spread Abroad of Conspiracies forming against the State by the *Non-Conformists*, without Distinction of any particular Sect of them, *Acts* were made which manifestly destroy the *Breda Declaration*, as well as that which the *Royalists* had published, when the King's Restoration was in Hand.

I shall give my Reader, in few Words, the Substance of what was alledged in Support of this Persecution. It is true, say the Favourers of it, that the King generously pardoned the Offences committed before this Declaration: But he did not promise to pardon such as should be afterwards committed. Now since the Time that the King has been restored, the *Non-Conformists* have been engaged in Plots to disturb the Government. It is therefore necessary to take all possible and proper Measures to put it out of their Power to execute their Designs. In Answer to this Argument, it is not necessary to urge the slender Foundation of these pretended Plots, for which no one Person was ever either punished or prosecuted. It is sufficient to remark that it supposes, what is entirely distant from the Truth, that the *Non-Conformists* made but one and the same Body, because their Enemies had been pleased to bestow one common Name upon them. Nevertheless, upon this Supposition, so notoriously false, the Government believed it had a Right to deprive the *Sects* in general

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general, and the *Presbyterians* in particular of the Benefit of the Declaration from *Breda*, only because their Enemies had pleased to confound them with *Independents* and *Entbusiafts*, under the same Appellation of *Non-Conformists*. I cannot think it necessary to say any more to expose the Weakness of this Reasoning, which nevertheless was strong enough for Men who had the Power in their Hands.

*Petition of
the Parli-
ament.*

To prepare the Way for the designed Alteration, which had no other Pretence than Rumours of an imaginary Conspiracy, the Parliament judged it convenient to support these Rumours by a Petition to the King for a Proclamation, to order all Officers and disbanded Soldiers to depart Twenty Miles from the City of *London*. It was natural to infer from this that there were Grounds for Fear, and that was the Thing aimed at by the Proclamation.

*A Supply
granted to
the King.*

The same Day the *Commons* voted the King a Supply of Twelve Hundred Thousand Pounds for his present Occasions, that is to say, for his Disposal in what manner he pleased. This was the first Fruits of his Condescendence with Regard to his Declaration from *Breda*.

*Some Re-
gicides
called be-
fore the
Parlia-
ment.*

Afterwards the Parliament resumed the Affair of the 19 *Regicides*, who had voluntarily come in upon the Proclamation of the 6th of *June*, and yet had been sentenced to Death. It was asked of them what they had to say why Judgement should not be executed upon them. They alledged the King's Proclamation on which they had relied, believing that it was his Intention to pardon them. But this did not prevent a *Bill* to be brought in for the ordering their Execution, which had two Readings, but was then dropped, probably from the King's powerful Sollicitation in favour of the condemned, who could not have been executed without great Prejudice done both to his Honour and Honesty.

*The Chan-
cellor sup-
ports the
Rumour of
the Plot.*

I have before said that the Rumour of Conspiracies was absolutely necessary for a Foundation to what was afterwards to follow. The Earl of *Clarendon* had

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had spoke of this in the Close of the late Parliament, and the King had made some mention of it in the opening of this. To strike the Blow home, the Earl of *Clarendon*, at a Conference between the two Houses, affirmed positively, that there was a real Conspiracy, formed since last *March*, to disturb the Peace of the Kingdom. He named several Persons engaged in it, and gave an exact Account of the Manner how it was to have been executed. He said, That though the Design seemed disconcerted and broke, so far as it related to the City, whither the Officers and disbanded Soldiers had been invited to repair the 11th of the present Instant *December*, it was nevertheless still pursued in the Country. The Lords upon this Information named a Committee of Twelve of their own House, to whom they desired the *Commons* to add a proportionable Number of theirs, to examine into this horrible Conspiracy, that the Execution of it might be prevented, and the Peace of the Kingdom secured.

Certainly it cannot but appear strange to all, who are not prejudiced by Passion or Party, that a Conspiracy known so well to the Court in all its Circumstances, with the Persons engaged in it; the Day of its designed Execution in *London*, the Endeavours still used to hasten it in the Country, and so many intercepted Letters relating to it; that this Conspiracy, I say, which was examined before a numerous Committee of both Houses, should not be attended with the Deaths of some of the Accomplices, nor even one single Person accused and prosecuted. It was nevertheless upon this alone, that the *Corporation-Act*, of which I am going to speak, and every Thing afterwards done against the *Non-Conformists* were built.

A Remark upon this Subject.

The 20th of *December* the King came to the Parliament, and passed the two following *Acts*:

An *Act* to grant the King twelve Hundred Thousand Pounds, for his present Occasions, to be levied

1661. by a Monthly Tax of Seventy Thousand Pounds, for eighteen Months.

An *Act* for regulating *Corporations*.

This *Act*, which was called the *Corporation-Act* ran, That in Order to have the Succession in Corporations perpetuated in the Hands of Persons well affected to the Government, it was ordained that every Mayor, Alderman, Common-Council-Man, or any other Officer in a *Corporation* should be obliged, besides the common Oath of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, and a particular Declaration against the *Solemn League and Covenant*, to take an Oath declaring, *That it was not lawful upon any Pretence whatsoever to take Arms against the King; and that he did abhor that traiterous Position of taking Arms by his Authority against his Person, or against those commissioned by him.*

Oath imposed by the Corporation Act.

A Remark.

If the Oath had imported that it is not lawful under any Pretence to take up Arms against the established Government, there had been nothing in it extraordinary. But in this Oath the King is supposed to be sole Master of the Government, which is manifestly false, since he can neither make nor repeal a Law but in Conjunction with the Parliament, and consequently the Sovereign Authority does not reside in him alone. This Supposition was exactly like that of the Parliament in the Year 1640, that the Supreme Authority resided in the People, or their Representatives in Parliament, the Absurdity of which Opinion was exposed by *Charles I.* in almost every one of his *Papers*. They are both equally false, and to show that the People of *England* do not think them true, we need only take notice of the absurd Consequences deduced from them, and which have been rejected by the *English* on all Occasions; by the Maxim of the Parliament in 1640, that Parliament believed it self impowered to abolish Monarchy, and change the established Religion. By the Oath in question, *James II.* believed himself impowered to bring in a new Religion, and to establish an abso-

Power. But the *English* Nation thought themselves bound by neither the one nor the other of these extravagant Maxims. *Charles II* was restored in spite of the Decision of the Parliament of 1640, and *James II*, was drove from his Throne in spite of the Decision of this Parliament which had ordered the Oath we are speaking of, even with the Concurrence of the King to support it. It is an impracticable Thing to fix the Degree of Obedience due from the People of *England* to the King or Parliament, when they clash with one another. The Reason is evident, which is no other than that the Essence of the Government consists in their Union. It is in the King and Parliament united together, that the Sovereign Power, necessary to all Governments is lodged. Wherefore to say that upon any Pretence or Reason whatsoever it is not lawful to resist the King or the Parliament, is, properly speaking, to deliver up the Liberties of the Nation to the Mercy of the one or the other. The High-Churchmen, of which this Parliament was principally composed, had then extraordinary Ideas of the Royal Authority. And I know not whether they have yet entirely dropped them. But it is certain that a great many of them at last opened their Eyes, and saw the dangerous Consequences of their own Maxims, and that even this Parliament did not think fit to admit them all, as will afterwards be seen.

After these Acts were passed, the Parliament was adjourned to the 10th of *January*.

Elizabeth Stuart Daughter of *James I*, Electress Palatine, and Queen of *Babeyria*, dyed at *London* the 13th of *February*.*

Death of the Queen of Bohemia.

The Parliament being met the 10th of *January*, the first Thing the Lords did was to hear the Report of the Committee appointed to examine into the Con-

1661-2. Report of the Conspiracy made by the Chancellor.

* She was interred in *Westminster Abbey* in the same Vault with *Prince Henry* her Brother. She had seven Sons and five Daughters, of whom the youngest surviving, the Princess *Sophia*, was declared Heir to the Crown of *Great-Britain*.

1661-2. *sp*iracy supposed to have been in Agitation now almost a Year, and yet hitherto without any Effect. The Earl of *Clarendon*, who made the Report says, that two Persons, namely, *Wildman* and *Salmon* were particularly engaged in this Plot, and that a List of one Hundred and forty Officers of the late Army had been found upon the latter; that it was further discovered, that the Conspirators were to have had a Meeting at *London* the 10th of *December* last, and had formed a Design to make themselves Master of *Shrewsbury*, *Coventry*, and *Bristol*, by the End of *January*: That at whatever Place they should happen to be most powerful, they were to begin by horrible Assassinations, and that one of them had reported, that the fugitive Judges of the late King were entertained in *France*, *Holland*, and *Germany*: That they held a strict Correspondence with the *English* Conspirators, and were encouraged by foreign Princes: That they had bought a large Quantity of Arms, and boasted that if they could once set Foot in *England*, they should not want Means to carry on their Work. That this had been discovered by one of the Accomplices, and confirmed by such secret Advices as never failed. That Numbers of Persons had assembled at *Huntington*, and rode about that Town in the Night, to the great Terrour of his Majesty's good Subjects: That one might be astonished that no Proposals had yet been made to remedy the impending Mischiefs: But that the King after having conferred with the Duke of *Albemarle*, had ordered two Troops of Horse to *Shrewsbury*, and as many to *Coventry*, and that in their way these Troops had dispersed a great Company of Robbers, and taken Twenty: That a Report was spread, that the Appointing of this Committee was only an Artifice of the Court to have a Pretence of governing by an Army; but that the Committee was very sensible of the Reality of the Danger, and he hoped the two Houses would be so too: That since their Enemies were all united for
their

their Destruction, they ought likewise to be united 1661-2.
for their own Preservation.

When it is considered that after a strict Inquiry in- *A Remark*
to this Conspiracy by a numerous Committee of both *upon this*
Houses, the whole amounted only to a List of one *Subject.*
Hundred and forty Officers, found upon one Man
without any other Circumstance relating to the Con-
spirators not named, to the secret Advices that never
failed, to a Company of Men gathered about *Hun-*
tington in the Night, no Man knew why; that not
one of these pretended Conspirators, who might have
been known by one or other Discoverer of the whole
Conspiracy, was either punished or prosecuted for
this supposed Crime; that in short the Noise of this
Conspiracy was hushed at once after the *Uniformity-Act*
had passed: When these Things, I say, are consider-
ed, one cannot help thinking that it was only a pure
Fiction, to give some Colour to this *Act*. The Go-
vernment durst not attack the *Presbyterians* directly
on account of their Religion. The Declaration from
Breda was too express upon that Article. But they
are to be charged with the guilt of new Crimes, to
have a Pretence for depriving them of the Benefit of
this Declaration. They were not even accused of
any Attempt to disturb the State, since the King's
Restoration; But the *Non-Conformists* in general were
accused in order to make the *Presbyterians* suffer, as
if they were one and the same with *Independents*, *Ana-*
baptists, *Enthusiasts*, because to all these *Seets* was gi-
ven the common Name of *Nonconformists*.

The 1st of *March* the King sent for the *Commons* to *The King's*
Whitehall, and reproached them, but in a civil and *Speech to*
genteel Manner, with having done nothing towards *the Com-*
the settling of his Revenues. He artfully insinuated *mons.*
that the late Troubles had principally been owing to
the Poverty of the Crown, hinted thereby that this
had obliged his Father to stretch the Royal Preroga-
tive. He added, that there was still in the Kingdom
a *Republican-Party*, which waited for a second Revo-
lution, that therefore the only way to render their
Designs

1661-2. Designs abortive, was to enable the Crown to support its own Dignity, and protect the Subject. He then continued his Speech thus :

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ I Hear you are very zealous for the Church, and
 “ very sollicitous, and even jealous, that there is
 “ not Expedition enough used in that Affair. I
 “ thank you for it, since I presume it proceeds from
 “ a good Root of Piety and Devotion : But I must
 “ tell you, I have the worst luck in the World, if
 “ after the Reproaches of being a *Papist* while I was
 “ abroad, I am suspected of being a *Presbyterian* now
 “ I am come Home. I know you will not take it
 “ unkindly, if I tell you I am as zealous for the
 “ Church of *England*, as any of you can be, and am
 “ enough acquainted with the Enemies of it on all
 “ Sides ; that I am as much in Love with the Book
 “ of *Common-Prayer* as you can wish, and have Pre-
 “ judice enough to those who do not love it, who,
 “ I hope, will in Time be better informed, and
 “ change their Minds ; and you may be confident I
 “ do as much desire to see an *Uniformity* settled as
 “ any amongst you. I pray trust me in that Affair :
 “ I promise you to hasten the Dispatch of it with all
 “ convenient speed ; you may rely upon me in it,
 “ I have transmitted the Book of *Common-Prayer*,
 “ with those Alterations and Additions, which have
 “ been presented to me by the *Convocation*, to the
 “ House of *Peers*, with my Approbation, that the
 “ *Act of Uniformity* may relate to it *. So that I
 “ presume

* There were added some new Collects, as the Prayer for all Conditions of Men, the general Thanksgiving, and the Prayer for the High Court of Parliament, and a new Office was made for Baptism of such as were of riper Years, and two more, one for the 30th of *January*, the other for the 29th of *May*. In the Collect for the Parliament, the King was stiled: *our most religious King*, an *Epithet* that gave great Offence, and occasioned much ill-illery.

“ presume it will be shortly dispatched there : And
 “ when we have done all we can, the well settling of
 “ that Affair will require great Prudence and Discre-
 “ tion, and the Absence of all Passion and Precipi-
 “ tation.”

The King's Design in this last Part of his Speech was to have the Execution of the *Act of Uniformity* when it should be passed, left entirely to himself, that he might have it in his Power to dispense with whom he pleased. This he afterwards discovered in Words more clear and perscise, nevertheless the Parliament would not grant his Desire.

The *Commons* being returned to their House prepared several *Bills*, and amongst the rest one against the *Quakers*, on account of their Refusal to take the Oaths. This proceeded not from a Belief that they were by this Refusal freed from the Obligations imposed by these Oaths; but from an Opinion which they entertained that Oaths in general were unlawful. This *Act* and another for the repairing of the Streets and High-ways in and about *London* were passed by Commission.

At last, on the 19th of *May* the King coming to the Parliament, gave his Assent to divers *Acts*, of which I shall only take notice of the most important.

An *Act* for the Uniformity of Publick Prayers, and the Administration of the Sacraments. *Other Acts;*

An *Act* for the better regulating and ordering the standing Forces of the Nation.

An *Act* for laying a perpetual and annual Tax of two Shillings on every Chimney-Hearth in each House, Alms-Houses excepted.

An *Act* to impower his Majesty to levy for the next ensuing three Years, a Tax of Seventy Thou-
 sand

Raillery. Some new Holy-days were added also, as *St. Barnabas*, and the Conversion of *St. Paul*, and more Lessons were taken in one of the *Apocrypha*, particularly the Story of *Bel* and the Dragon.

1661-2. sand Pounds *per Month*, if Necessity shall so require.

Moreover the House of *Commons* ordered the sixty Thousand Pounds remaining over and above the Sum of twelve Hundred Thousand Pounds, granted by a former *Act*, to be distributed to the poor *Cavaliers*, who had been Sufferers in the late Troubles.

After the passing of these *Acts*, the Parliament was prorogued to the 18th of *February*.

Amongst these *Acts* three are particularly remarkable.

Act of Uniformity. By the *Act of Uniformity*, every Minister was obliged to conform to the Worship of the Church of *England*, as set forth in the Book of *Common-Prayer* lately revised, upon Pain of losing all his Ecclesiastical Preferments: This he was to do before the Feast of *St. Bartholomew* next, which gave this *Act* the Name of the *Bartholomew-Act*. Every Minister was likewise obliged to sign the following Declaration, *I do hereby declare my unfeigned Assent and Consent to all and every Thing contained and prescribed in and by the Book intituled, The Book of Common-Prayer, &c.* Besides this, every Minister was obliged to sign a Declaration contained in the *Militia Act*, in which Declaration he was not only to conform to the *Liturgy* of the Church of *England*, but likewise to renounce the solemn *League and Covenant*, declaring it to be an unlawful Oath, and imposed upon the Subjects of this Realm against the known Laws and Liberties of the People.

The Penalties annexed to this *Act* were many, particularly this—*No Person should be capable of any Benefice, or presume to consecrate and administer the holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, before he be ordained Priest by Episcopal Ordination, upon Pain to forfeit for every Offence the Sum of one Hundred Pounds.*

Remarks upon this Act.

I shall make but three Observations upon this *Act*, The first shall be in the very Words of the Declaration from *Breda*. *And because the Passion and Uncharitableness of the Times have produced several Opinions in Religion, by which Men are engaged in Parties and Animosities*

mostities against each other, which, when they shall hereafter unite in a Freedom of Conversation, will be composed or better understood ; we do declare a Liberty to tender Consciences, and that no Man shall be disquieted or called in question for Differences of Opinion in Matters of Religion, which do not disturb the Peace of the Kingdom ; and that we shall be as ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament, as upon mature Deliberation shall be offered to us for the full granting that Indulgence.

Let any Man compare this Clause with the *Act of Uniformity*, and he will easily see what care the Ministers about the King, who were the real Authors or Promoters of this *Act*, had of his Honour, and what regard he payed to his own Promise. Notwithstanding all this, some did then and do now consider this *Act* as the great Support and Bulwark of the Church of *England* ; and honour the Authors of it as of an heroick Action, deserving the everlasting Praises and Blessings of the Church ; whilst others perhaps, no less sincerely attached to the Church of *England*, looked upon it as her Disgrace and Scandal.

My second Remark is, that to this amounted the Promises made to the *Presbyterians* by the King's Party, upon the Assurance of which they had so cheartfully laboured for his Restoration, and followed the Directions transmitted by his Friends.

My third Remark is, that by an Artifice the most gross Conspiracies were invented which had no manner of Reality ; or supposing they had, could no way be charged to the *Presbyterians*, who were not to answer for the Crimes of other *Sects*.

It will perhaps be thought that as I am a *Presbyterian*, my Sentiments in this Affair are swayed by Interest and Passion. But I do protest that I have always had, and do still retain, a profound Respect and great Veneration for the Church of *England*, with which I communicated during my Residence there, and should be ready so to do if I was to return thither. But this does not oblige me to consider all the Members of that Church as free from Failing, Passions,

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and Prejudices ; especially on the present Occasion, when, as an Historian, Truth requires of me to make appear clearly so material a Point of History, as this unfair Dealing with the *Presbyterians*. For at their Ruin it was that the *Uniformity Act* was principally aimed *.

The Act which related to the *Militia*, intituled, *An Act for the better regulating and ordering the standing Forces of the Nation*, contained amongst others the following Clause.

*Militia
Act.*

Forasmuch as within all his Majesty's Realms and Dominions, the sole and supreme Power, Government, Command and Disposition of the Militia, and of all Forces by Sea and Land, and of all Forts and Places of Strength, is, and by the Laws of England ever was, the undoubted Right of his Majesty, and his Royal Predecessors, Kings and Queens of England ; and that both or either of the Houses of Parliament cannot or ought not to pretend to the same ; nor can, nor lawfully may raise, or levy any War offensive or defensive against his Majesty, his Heirs or lawful Successors, &c.

*An Oath
enjoined.*

It was ordained by this Act that all Lord-Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, Officers, and Soldiers, should take the following Oath : ——— *I do declare and believe, that it is not lawful upon any Pretence whatsoever to take Arms against the King ; and that I do abhor that traiterous Position, That Arms may be taken by his Authority against his Person, or against those that are commissioned by him, in pursuance of such military Commissions.*

When in the latter Part of the Oath the Words *commissioned by him* came to be debated in the House of

* Burnet observes, that the Favourers of Popery, among whom he reckons the King, thought a *Toleration* was the only Method for settling it a going all over the Nation. And nothing could make a *Toleration* for Popery pass, but the having great Bodies of Men put out of the Church, and under severe Laws which should force them to move for a *Toleration*. and make it reasonable to grant it them. p. 179.

of *Commons*, a great Lawyer * moved, that the Word *lawfully* might be added to make all clear. But the Attorney-General Sir *Heneage Finch* answered, " That it was not necessary, for the very Word *Commission* imported it ; since if it was not *lawfully* issued out to *lawful* Persons, and for a *lawful* Reason, it was no *Commission*." And the whole House assented to this Interpretation. The same Difficulty was started in the House of Lords *¹, and removed in the same manner *². But granting that by *commissioned* could be only meant *lawfully commissioned*, where would have been the Harm to have added the Word *lawfully*, in order to take away all Obscurity, if the Parliament intended to put any Restriction upon the *Royal Power* ?

Suppose now that the King invested with such Power had attempted the abrogating all the antient, to substitute new Laws at his Pleasure ; the abolishing the Use of Parliaments, and forcing his Subjects to embrace the *Papish* Religion ; which way could they have maintained their Liberties and Religion, since there was no higher Authority to call the King to Account, and since by this Oath it was High-Treason to take Arms against him *upon any Pretence whatsoever* ? These are the ordinary Effects of Factions in the State. Each Party when uppermost, are only intent upon acting in direct Opposition to what the other have done, without troubling themselves with the Consequences, and most commonly both Parties run into Extremes. The Parliament of the Year 1640 incensed against *Charles I.*, for attempting to enlarge his Prerogative, were not content with restraining him within due Bounds, but claimed also such Privileges as were inconsistent with the Constitution, and proceeded at last so far as entirely to destroy the

* Sir *John Vaughan*. He offered many Instances of the Law-Books to shew, " That it was lawful in many Cases to take up Arms against those who were commissioned by the King."

*¹ By the Earl of *Southampton*.

*² By the Earl of *Anglesey*.

1661. Monarchy. The Parliament of 1661 not satisfied with restoring the King to his just Rights, invested him with an unlimited Power, and rendered him as absolute as any Monarch in the Universe.

Chimney-
Act.

The annual Tax of Two Shillings upon every Fire-Hearth, not only to this King for his Life, but to his Successors for ever, shewed that this Parliament was not swayed by a bare Motive of Zeal and Affection for the reigning King, but seemed moreover to have an Intention of putting the Kings of *England* in a Condition to support themselves without Parliaments, by so great a Power conferred on them. And indeed, this single Tax brought in the King yearly Two Hundred and Fifty-six Thousand Pounds. This, together with Tonnage and Poundage, *Excise*, and other Duties upon Merchandize, raised the King's Revenues to double of what his Predecessors had enjoyed; such were the Fears this Parliament had of being wanting in their Zeal for Monarchy, which had for so many Years, met with so unworthy Treatment.

The Q's
Arrival;

The Session of Parliament being ended, the Thoughts of the Court were wholly turned to the Reception of the new Queen, who was expected every Day. She had left *Lisbon* the 23d of *April*, but reached not *Portsmouth* before the 21st of *May*, whether the King went to receive her. A Report was spread and encouraged, that the Marriage had been solemnized by *Sheldon* Bishop of *London*. But some, who believed themselves better informed, said that the Queen refused to be married by any other than a *Catholic* Priest; that the King consented, and that very few Persons were present at the Solemnity *. This Marriage had been proposed by *D. Francisco de Mello* the

and Mar-
riage.

* *Burnet* says, when *Sheldon* came to perform the Ceremony he would not say the Words of Matrimony, nor bear the Sight of the Bishop. The King said the Words hastily, and the Bishop pronounced them married Persons. But the Duke of *Tork* told *Burnet*, they were married by the Lord *Aubigny*, according to the *Roman* Ritual, the Duke being one of the Witnesses. p. 74.

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the *Portuguese* Ambassador, to General *Monk*, at the time that he was labouring the King's Restoration. The Ambassador's View was to procure to the Crown of *Portugal* a powerful Assistance from that of *England*, since by the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, the King his Master had no farther Expectations from *France*. To prevail with *Monk*, and, through him, with the King, he engaged that the King of *Portugal* should give the Princess his Sister a Portion of Three Hundred Thousand Pounds *Sterling*, the Town of *Tangier* upon the Coast of *Africk*, and the Isle of *Bombay* in the *East-Indies*. *Monk*, pleased with these Offers, proposed this Marriage to the King immediately after his Arrival. The King approved of it, and accordingly it was concluded in the Year 1661. Some pretend that Chancellor *Hyde* opposed the Marriage with all his Power, from an Information that the Princess of *Portugal*, by some natural Infirmary, was incapable of having any Children; but that the King took this for an Artifice of the Court of *Spain* to prevent a Marriage, which could not but prove prejudicial to its great Designs upon *Portugal*. Others again have made the Chancellor the chief Contriver of this Match. Before the Consummation of the Marriage, the King in a Treaty with *Portugal* had engaged to assist that Kingdom against *Spain*, and in the 19th Article of the Treaty, obliged himself never to restore *Dunkirk* to that Crown.

When this Marriage was compleated, the Queen-Mother arrived in *England**, with Design, as it seemed, to spend there the Remainder of her Days. The King assigned *Somerset-House* for her Residence, and furnished her with Money sufficient to keep a splendid and magnificent Court. But she did not, it seems, find in *England*, all the Satisfaction she expected, for after a Residence of Three Years, she returned back into *France*.

Arrival of
the Queen-
Mother.

* With the Earl of *St. Albans* and others.

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The Motives alledged by the Chancellor to the Count *d'Eftrades*, to let him see the Necessity the King was under to sell *Dunkirk*, were, that, his Co-fiers being empty, he had no other Way left to put himself in a Condition to assist *Portugal*. But in *England* this Reason was not to be urged, because all the World knew what vast Sums the King had received from the Parliament. To cover therefore the Dishonour of this Sale, it was pretended that the Garrison and Repairs of the Fortifications cost the King immense Sums to no Purpose; that *the Sea was so tempestuous, and the Grounds so rowling upon every Storm, that there would never remain a certain Steerage to that Port**. On this Occasion several Pamphlets were writ, some to lay before the Publick the Injury done to the Nation in the Sale of *Dunkirk*, and others to palliate it, or to shew the Necessity of it: but the greatest Dispute arose from these two Questions, whether the Proposal came from *France* or *England*? And whether the Earl of *Clarendon*, as he was then generally accused, was the Author and Promoter of this Sale, or, as some then pretended, and as many still do, protested he would have no Hand in it? I find that Mr. *Echard* in his History of *England*, and Dr. *Burnet* in that of his own Times, entirely clear the Chancellor from all Blame in this Affair. It is nevertheless a Fact as certain as one of this Nature can be, that the Earl of *Clarendon* made the first Proposal of the Sale, negotiated, and brought it to a Conclusion. To prove the Truth of this, I need only quote some Extracts from the Letters of the Count *d'Eftrades*, who had the Care of this Negotiation, and consequently knew more of this Matter than any other Person,

* These were the Words of the Earl of *Sandwich* according to *Echard*. *Burnet* says, Count *Schomberg*, who was lately come into *England*, advised, in Opposition to all this, that the King should keep it; for, considering the naval Power of *England*, it could not be taken. But he was singular in his Opinion. *Clarendon* said he knew nothing of those Matters, but appealed to *Mont's* Judgement, who was for selling it. p. 173.

Person. It must however be said in Excuse of Mr. Echard and Dr. Burnet, that when they wrote this Part of their Histories, the Count d'Estrades's Letters, which give an Account of the Dunkirk Negotiation, were not yet published, and that those Historians knew no more of this Affair, than what they had received from the Earl of Clarendon's Friends.

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The Count d'Estrades, being Ambassadour at London in the Year 1662, had secretly agreed with the King, that the French King should supply him with a certain Sum of Money to enable him to assist Portugal. But this was to be kept very secret because of the Pyrenean Treaty, by which Lewis had solemnly engaged to give no Assistance to Portugal either directly or indirectly. This Secret nevertheless took Air, and occasioned a Letter from Lewis to the Count d'Estrades, dated the 4th of March, in which are these Words: — You may tell the King of England that what is known here of the Money of Havre, came from Fox himself, who has not been very careful to keep the Secret. This was partly the Cause of all the senseless Noise made in Paris, which doubtless must have reached London, that I am treating for Dunkirk with the said King for a Sum of Money, in order to exchange that Place with the King of Spain for Cambray, or Aire, and St. Omer. You know better than any Person whether I had ever the least thought of it.

It is by no Means unlikely that this Insinuation begot in Charles the Thought of selling Dunkirk to France; but the Sale was not spoke of till some Months after. The Count d'Estrades being returned into France in April this Year, was appointed Ambassadour Extraordinary to Holland. But as he was on the Way thither, he received a Letter from the King of England, dated the 17th of July, to desire him to take a Tour to London, where he wanted to communicate to him an Affair proposed by the Chancellor. The Count d'Estrades, by Leave from his Master, went to London, and there received from him a Letter, in which he told him, — You may guess

with.

1662. *with what impatience I expect the Arrival of your Dispatch, which is to inform me of the Subject on which the King of Great Britain desired to speak with you, and which diverted you from your Journey into Holland to make a Tour to London, &c.*

As all the other Letters, till the Month of October, show that this single Negotiation took up the Count d'Estrades's whole Time during his Stay at London, there is no room to doubt that the first Proposition, for the Sale of *Dunkirk*, came from the English Court. The Hand which the Earl of Clarendon had in this Affair appears clearly, from a Letter of the 17th of *August*, written by the Count d'Estrades to the King his Master, wherein he gives him an account of a Conference which he had with the Earl of Clarendon. These are his Words :

The Chancellor added, that the Thought of this Treaty came from him : He made no Scruple to declare that the Necessity of the English Affairs put it into his Head : That the King, the Duke of York, and himself, were single in this Opinion, and that Monk, the Lord-Treasurer, and the Earl of Sandwich were still to be managed, whom he could not hope to gain by any other Consideration, than that of the great Sums which would accrue to the King : That having already made the Proposal to them, founded on the urgent Occasions of the State, they had offered an Expedient to preserve the Place for the King, and make him a Reparation for this Expence. -- I ought not to omit letting your Majesty know, that the Chancellor hinted to me that the King had Precautions to observe with the Queen his Mother on this Affair : That for this Purpose the King told the Queen, that his sending for me into England, was to pray my Application to your Majesty for a Sum of Money to be lent him in his pressing Necessities, and that he had ordered the Chancellor to confer with me upon that Subject. The Chancellor added, that the King and he were agreed, that the King should complain much of my Incompliance with regard to this Loan, and that the Chancellor particularly should tell the Queen, by way of

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Secret, that I was a strange Man, and that he was very much mistaken, if by what I had said to him I did not intend to demand of him for Security of this Loan some Cautionary Town, as England had formerly done by France and Holland in a parallel Case: But that he had pretended not to understand me, as it was a Demand to which he could never advise his Master to give his Consent. All this Disguise is made use of to prepare the Queen for a Belief that she knew something of the Treaty, if it should come to a Conclusion; and that Necessity was the Motive to it. I am likewise to complain of the Chancellor, as of a Man who is blindly zealous to procure Advantages for the King his Master, but has no Regard for those of your Majesty. This whole Procedure confirms me in the Opinion that they have a Mind to a Treaty, to which nothing stands in the Way but the Price, and here they are unreasonable,

In another Letter of the 1st of August, the Count d'Eftrades writ to the King that the Chancellor had told him—That when it should be known for how small a Sum this Treaty was made, the King could not avoid Reproach; and that at the least, himself and the Chancellor would be liable to a publick Censure, which might put his Life in danger. That therefore it was his Opinion to make a Present of the Town to your Majesty, and leave the Reward to your own Generosity: But that as he was not Master, and was highly concerned to take Care of himself in an Affair so nice and delicate, he was obliged to conceal his own Sentiments, and make a shew of adhering to those others, that he might not be taken for the principal Author of the Treaty—He farther enlarged upon the Importance of this Place, and the Advantages which your Majesty might draw from it, if your Majesty should ever design to make an Invasion upon Flanders, &c.

These Letters demonstrate that the Earl of Glarendon, Son of the Chancellor, was but ill-informed, when he told Dr. Burnet that the Earl his Father would never meddle with the Affair of Dunkirk. It may be said, however, in the Chancellor's Justification,

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tion, that it is by no Means impossible but that the Thought of selling *Dunkirk* might arise originally from the King; that perhaps the Chancellor used his Endeavours to dissuade him from this Project; but that being unable to succeed, he had a Mind to give the King a Proof of his Obedience, by taking this Negotiation upon himself, in order to manage it to the King's Advantage. For Dr. *Burnet*, in the Character which he has left of this Minister, has this Remark, that though a Resolution had been taken contrary to his Sentiment, he nevertheless laboured the Execution of it with the same Zeal, as if it had come from himself. But this is only a bare Possibility, to which every Body may pay what Regard he pleases.

Three Regicides
executed.

While this Negotiation was managing by the King and his first Minister, three of the late King's Judges, who had found Means to escape out of the Kingdom, were taken, and publicly executed at *Ty-bourn*. They had, after several Journeys made thro' *Low* and *High-Germany*, settled for some time at *Hanow* under borrowed Names, and returned in the Spring to *Delft* in *Holland*, having appointed their Wives to meet them there, in order to learn the State of Affairs in *England*, and what Hopes were left for them; but Sir *George Downing*, the King's Resident at the *Hague*, and formerly of their own Party, having by their intercepted Letters discovered the Affignation, obtained the Consent of the *States* for the apprehending them. They were accordingly taken at *Delft*, put on Board an *English* Ship, and so brought to their Execution. The Names of these three *Regicides* were *Corbet*, *Okey*, and *Berkstead*.

Proceed-
ings a-
gainst
Vane and
Lambert.

This Execution was followed with the Trials and Condemnation of Sir *Henry Vane* and General *Lambert*, who had been expressly excepted out of the *Act* of Pardon, though they were not amongst the King's Judges, because they were looked upon as the chief Authors of the Troubles. *Vane* had been committed to Prison, shortly after the King's Arrival, on bare

bare Suspicion of his framing some Plot against the Government. But notwithstanding his being excepted out of the *Act of Indemnity*, he had, by his Credit, prevailed to have a Petition offered to the King for the saving his Life, by that very Parliament which had excepted him from Mercy, and the Petition was granted by the King. He was therefore kept in Prison without being brought to Tryal, till the Time of which I am speaking. But this Second Parliament being composed of Men of another Stamp than the first, the House of Commons, in a Petition to the King, prayed that he, as well as *Lambert*, might be brought to Tryal. It was to no Purpose for him to alledge in his Defence the Petition of the first Parliament, and many other Reasons; he was, notwithstanding all this, sentenced to die as a Traytor. *Lambert* was likewise tried and condemned; but a Pardon came for him at the very instant that Sentence of Death was pronounced upon him. He was confined in the Isle of *Guernsey*, where he lived a Prisoner Thirty six Years *. Sir *Henry Vane* met not with the like Favour from the King. This, it is pretended, was owing to the Insolence of his Behaviour at his Tryal. But a great many believed that he fell a Sacrifice to the *Manes* of the Earl of *Strafford*, in whose Death he had a considerable Share. His Indiscretion and Insolence, as well at his Tryal as his Execution, had been greatly aggravated. But it is easy to see, that this was only to save the King's Honour, who, having positively promised a Pardon to all Persons that were not in the Number of the King's Judges, could not by any Means avoid granting a Pardon to *Vane*, without violating his Promise, and especially after sparing his Life at the Request of the late Parliament. It was so much feared that he would insist upon this Point in his Speech upon the Scaffold, that a great Number of Drummers were placed there, who, as

Lambert pardoned.

Vane executed. Echard.

* He is said to live and die a *Papist*.

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Burnet,
p. 164.

soon as he began to speak, upon a Sign given, struck up with their Drums. All the Favour he could obtain from the King was to have his Head struck off. Great Care was taken after his Death to publish the King's Inclination to have pardoned him, if he had not been provoked by fresh Influence. But this is a Thing very hard to be proved.

The Pres-
byterian
Ministers
quit their
Livings
rather
than sub-
mit to the
Act of U-
niformity.

St. Bartholomew's Day * being come, on which the *Act of Uniformity* was to begin to be put in Execution, Two Thousand *Presbyterian* Ministers chose rather to quit their Livings, than submit to the Conditions of this *Act*. It was expected that a Division would have happened amongst them, and that a great Number would have chose rather to conform to the Church of *England*, than see themselves reduced to Beggary. It was not therefore without extreme Surprize, that they were all seen to stand out, not so much as one suffering himself to be tempted *. As this is a considerable Event in this Reign, it will not be foreign to the Purpose to stay and enquire into the Causes of this Rigour against the *Presbyterians*: I say the *Presbyterians*, because the other *Sects* were, by no Means, so dreaded by the Church of *England*.

A Remark
upon it.

1. It cannot be denied that the High-Church-Men who prevailed in the Parliament, acted in a Spirit of Revenge. But this Revenge should not appear very strange considering the Persecution, and at last the entire Destruction brought upon the *Episcopal* Church by the *Presbyterians*, if nothing had been promised to these latter, and the Publick Faith not violated in the breach of that Promise. The Church

* The *Presbyterians* remembered what a St. Bartholomew's had been held at *Paris* Ninety Years before, which was the Day of that Massacre, and did not stick to compare the one to the other. Burn. p. 185.

*1 Burnet insinuates, that their Leaders took great Pains to have them all stick together, infusing it into them, that if great Numbers stood out, that would show their Strength, and produce new Laws in their Favour — So that it was thought that many went on in the Crowd to keep their Friends Company. p. 192.

of *England* was the National Church, which had flourished from the Reformation to the Time of the War between *Charles I.*, and the Parliament, when the *Presbyterians* entirely subverted it. It was therefore but reasonable to restore it to its former Condition. But it was Unjust not to stand to the Promise made to the *Presbyterians*, especially as they had greatly contributed to the King's Restoration, and withal to that of the very Church which persecuted them after having been Re-established by their Assistance.

2. But Revenge was not the sole Cause of the present Rigour exercised against the *Presbyterians*. The Desire of Self-Preservation had no less a Share in it. Past Experience had taught the Church of *England*, that if the *Presbyterians* should ever again find an Opportunity so favourable as that which they once had, they would not let it slip. They were always irreconcilable Enemies, though in the present State of Affairs, they were no longer able to do Mischief, but were obliged to sue for Mercy. It is therefore out of doubt that it was the Interest of the Church of *England* to use all possible Precautions to prevent the Increase of a Party already too powerful, and which in all appearance would never cease contending for the Mastery.

3. We have already seen what were the Notions of this Parliament, and the *Highb-Church* Party, touching the Royal Prerogative, and to what Height they carried it. It was no Secret that the *Presbyterians* as well as the other *Sects*, pursued quite contrary Maxims, and if they were not entirely *Republicans*, at least they endeavoured to reduce the Royal Power within very narrow Bounds, as appeared from the Resolutions and Conduct of the Parliament of 1640. But while the Church of *England* had no Suspicion of the King's Religion, but believed him a zealous Member of her Communion, it was her Interest to support and extend his Prerogative, and consequently to dis-
able

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able the *Presbyterians* from prosecuting their Maxims.

4. The Church of *England's* Interest required that she should improve so favourable an Opportunity, which might return no more. It was seen how greedy the King was of Money to throw it away with the greatest Profusion, and that he could not be without the Assistance of his Parliament, and the Church had the good Fortune to have a Parliament consisting of her most zealous Members, and disposed to sacrifice to the King a little of the Nation's Money, provided the King would in his Turn make them a Sacrifice of the *Presbyterians*. Though he was by no Means suspected to be a *Papist*, Men could not believe that he would, from a pure Principle of Honour and Honesty, fall out with a Parliament so favourable to him for the Sake of the *Presbyterians*, whom he neither did, nor indeed had any Cause to love. There was nothing therefore but what might be expected from his Complaisance, provided Care was taken to supply his Necessities. Such a Conjunction was not to be neglected.

5. But there was another still more powerful Cause of the Parliament's Severity against the *Presbyterians*. This was the Interest of the *Papists*, who had all along a great Influence during this Reign. Some of these made an open profession of their Religion, and yet were looked upon with no ill Eye by the Court. Others, after the King's Example, pretended to be good *Protestants*, and zealous Members of the Church of *England*, in order to be more capable of serving their Party. The first used all their Endeavours to incite the Parliament to a rough Treatment of the *Presbyterians*, in order to destroy a Party which had so openly declared against the Royal Power. The others, who lay hid under the Cover of a false Zeal for the *Protestant* Religion, laboured with the same Earnestness to spirit up the Leading-Members of the Church of *England*, and those particularly whom they knew to be most wanted

and hot against Men, who, they suggested, would neglect no favourable Opportunity of ruining them, as their Practices had sufficiently declared. But while they were thus zealously at work, on one Hand to bring Things to Extremities, they were labouring on the other, by their Emissaries, to incourage the *Presbyterians*, and to exhort them to the closest Union, by insinuating to them that this was the most effectual Means to defeat the Measures of their Enemies. They under-hand represented to them the Greatness of their Number, which in all likelihood would deter the Parliament from attempting the Ruin of so many Men at once, for fear of bringing on new Troubles. Whereas, if their Party should divide, they would be insensibly and irrecoverably ruined. In short, to induce them the more easily not to be disheartned, they were told, that the King, provoked with the ill Treatment they received, notwithstanding his Promise made to them, would protect them openly if they could resolve to stand firm and united amongst themselves; but a Division would put it out of his Power to do them any Service. It is certain that the Court was in this Disposition, not from any Pity for the *Presbyterians*, or Regard to the King's Honour, but from Hopes that the Union amongst the *Non-Conformists* would procure them more favourable Conditions, which the *Papists* might turn to their Advantage. But when I say the Court, I do not pretend to include in this Term, the Earl of *Clarendon*, though Prime Minister. This Justice must be done him, to say that he not only contributed nothing to the Designs of the King and the *Papists*; but that he was the Man that broke them, by secret Intrigues, well knowing what lay hid under this feigned Moderation of the King towards the *Presbyterians*. However the King, the Duke of *York*, and the other Leaders of the *Papists*, believed it necessary to push the *Presbyterians*, and then encourage them to hold together, that the Danger from their Union might prevail with the Parliament to grant

1662. to all the *Non-Conformists* in general, a *Toleration* which should extend to the *Papists*. This is not a bare Conjecture. Every Step taken by the King afterwards is a clear Evidence that this was the Scheme he had formed.

*Rigorous
Execution
of the Cor-
poration-
Act.*

I have already spoke of the *Act* made to prevent disaffected Persons from being admitted into the Offices of *Corporations*. For the better Execution of this *Act* the Parliament had appointed Commissioners, who were employed all this Year in visiting *Corporations*, and inspecting the Conduct of the Members. A very extensive Power had been given to these Commissioners, and they were invested with an absolute Authority to turn out of all Offices, in the respective *Corporations*, all Members who were ever so little suspected. For the Design of this *Act* was to divest of all Credit, every Man that was not entirely devoted to the King and the Church of *England*. This Power was exercised with all imaginable Rigour: So that the *Corporations* had not one Member left in their respective Offices, who was not of the same Principles with the House of *Commons*. Moreover, the Walls of *Gloucester*, *Coventry*, *Northampton*, *Leicester* and *Taunton* were, by Order of these Commissioners razed to the Ground, because those Towns had distinguished themselves by their Fidelity and Zeal for the Parliament.

A Plot.

About the End of the Year a Conspiracy was discovered, carried on by the *Fifth-Monarchy-Men*, and upon the Informations of some of the Accomplices, six were executed. Nevertheless many believed that this was only an Artifice to excuse the Rigour practised against the *Non-Conformists*. The Ground of this Suspicion was, that in a Plot formed to seize the King, the Duke of *York*, and General *Monk*, to murder them, and then seize the *Tower* and Castle of *Windsor*, only six Conspirators were discovered, namely, a Serjeant of *Foot*, a Distiller, a Cheesmonger, a Gunner, a Compass-Maker, and a Felt-maker. Few could persuade themselves that such sort of Men could

could ever flatter themselves with the Thoughts of succeeding in so improbable a Design. It is true, that to give some Appearance of probability to this Conspiracy, it was said, that the old Army Colonels were to assemble their disbanded Forces, and that *Ludlow*, then in *Switzerland*, was to put himself at the Head of this Army. But though such an Undertaking required Persons of some Distinction, yet only these six who were executed, could be discovered. At least if the Conspiracy was real, the Plotters had made no great Progress in it.

Six Con-
spirators
executed.

To finish the Transactions of this Year, I shall only add, that after the Earl of *Sandwich* had left *Lisbon*, to conduct the Queen into *England*, Vice-Admiral *Lawson*, sailed with a Squadron to *Algier*, and forced the *Algerines* to a Peace with *England*. As the King was in Possession of *Tangier*, they doubtless believed that it would be of no Advantage to them to have him for their Enemy. Shortly after, the King declared *Tangier* a free Port, and invested it with great Privileges.

Peace
with Al-
gier.

The King had already discovered how agreeable it would be to him to have the Execution of the *Uniformity-Act* left to his Management. But the Parliament had returned no Answer to his Desire. Before this *Act* the *Presbyterians* had behaved in a manner to give no just Cause of Complaint against them, and the King had given them a positive Promise, either that he would never consent to the *Act*, or procure them some Clause of Exemption in it. But he performed neither of these Promises, his Aim having been only to keep them united, by giving them Hopes of his Protection. After the *Act* was passed he still continued to feed their Expectations, and from hence it was that they presented a Petition to the King and Council, to desire a Dispensation from the Penalties annexed to the *Act of Uniformity*. This Petition would doubtless have been rejected, if the King had not signified to the Council the Obligation he was under to grant their Request. Some Time af-

The King's
Conduct to
the Pres-
byterians.

A Decla-
ration in
their Fa-
vour.

1662-3. ter he published a Declaration, dated the 26th of December, but which came not out till the beginning of January 1662-3. In this Declaration, after an Assurance of his hearty adherence to the *Act of Uniformity*, he said nevertheless, that for the Sake of others, he was willing to *dispenſe* with their Obedience to ſome Articles in it. After this Declaration was published, Mr. *Calamy* a *Presbyterian* Miniſter being in the Church, of which he had the Cure before the *Act* was put in Execution, and ſeeing that the Miniſter who was to preach, did not come, aſcended the Pulpit, and preached, for which he was committed to *Newgate* by the Lord-Mayor of *London*. But in a few Days he was diſcharged by the King's expreſs Order.

The King, as we have ſeen, meant to procure ſome Advantages to the *Presbyterians* with a View to do the like for the *Papiſts*. This was his Scheme, and as it was directly contrary to the Principles of the Earl of *Clarendon*, mortal Enemy of the *Presbyterians*, and no Friend of the *Papiſts*, it is not at all ſurpriſing that it was formed without the Privity of this Miniſter, whoſe Credit, for this very Reaſon, began from that Time to decline. Nay, the King had plainly enough ſhown that he had no longer the ſame Affection for him, by obliging Secretary *Nicholas*, worn out with Age, who was intimate Friend to the Chancellor, to reſign his Poſt to Sir *Henry Bennet*, afterwards Earl of *Arlington*, and the Chancellor's profeſſed Enemy. This was ſufficient to ſhew that his Credit with the King was not the ſame as formerly. On the other Hand, notwithstanding the King's Affectation of a great Zeal for the *Proteſtant-Religion*, the Choice of *Bennet* to be Secretary of State, diſcovered ſufficiently his Inclinations for the *Roman-Catholics*; *Bennet* being ſtrongly ſuſpected of being a *Papiſt* in his Heart, and known openly for their Proteſtor. It is ſaid, that he and the Earl of *Briſtol* had induced the King to change his Religion as he was upon the Road to *Fontarabia*, and that the former durſt not e-

turn into *England* till after the Death of the Lord *Culpeper*, who had threatened him to discover it to the Parliament. Be that as it will, as *Bennet* was the Chancellor's Enemy, this last could not look upon *Bennet's* Advancement into the Post of his old Friend, otherwise than as the Beginning of his own Disgrace.

1663.

The King's Declaration in Favour of the *Presbyterians* was a further Indication of the Fall of the Chancellor. This Declaration had been resolved on, and drawn up without his Knowledge in *Somerſet-Houſe*, where the Queen-Mother reſided, and probably by a *Catholick* Junto, or by the ſecret Favourers of that Religion. Thoſe who knew his Principles eaſily judged that he had no Hand in it. They had Reason to be confirmed in this Opinion afterwards, when all the World was ſenſible beyond all doubt, that the King in his pretended Compaſſion for the *Presbyterians*, had only an Intention to procure a *Toleration* for the *Catholicks*. The Chancellor notwithstanding retained his Poſt for ſome Years, though with great Diminution of his Credit and Authority.

*The King's
Design in
ſavouring
the Preſ-
byterians.*

The Parliament meeting the 18th of *February*, the King made a Speech to both Houſes, in which he confined himſelf to one ſingle Point, namely, his Declaration concerning the *Act of Uniformity*. His Words were theſe.

“ TO cure the Diſtempers, and compoſe the dif-
 “ ferent Minds among us, I ſet forth my De-
 “ claration of the 26th of *December*, in which you
 “ may ſee I am willing to ſet Bounds to the Hopes
 “ of ſome, and the Fears of others; of which when
 “ you ſhall have examined well the Grounds, I
 “ doubt not but I ſhall have your Concurrence
 “ therein. The Truth is, I am an Enemy to all Se-
 “ verity for Religion and Conſcience, how miſtaken
 “ ſoever it be, when it extends to Capital and Sanguinary
 “ Panishments, which I am told were begun in
 “ *Popiſh* Times: Therefore when I ſay this, I hope
 “ I ſhall not need to warn any here not to infer
 V O L. XIII. X “ from

*The King's
Speech to
both Hou-
ſes in fa-
vour of his
Declara-
tion.*

1662-3. " from thence, I mean to favour *Papery*. I must
 " confess to you there are many of that Profession,
 " who having served my Father and my self very
 " well, may fairly hope for some Part of that *Indul-*
 " *gence* I would willingly afford to others who dissent
 " from us : But let me explain my self, least some
 " mistake me herein, as I hear they did in my *Decla-*
 " *ration* : I am far from meaning by this, a *Tolera-*
 " *tion* or *Qualifying* them thereby to hold any Offices
 " or Places in the Government : Nay, further I de-
 " sire some Laws may be made to hinder the Growth
 " and Progress of their Doctrines. I hope you have
 " all so good an Opinion of my Zeal for the *Pro-*
 " *testant* Religion, that I need not tell you I will not
 " yield to any therein, not to the Bishops them-
 " selves, nor in my liking the *Uniformity* of it, as it
 " is now established ; which being the Standard of
 " our Religion, must be kept pure and uncorrupt,
 " free from all other Mixtures : And yet if the *Dis-*
 " *senters* will demean themselves peaceably and mo-
 " destly under the Government, I could heartily
 " wish I had such a *Power of Indulgence*, to use upon
 " *Occasions*, as might not needlessly force them out
 " of the Kingdom, or staying here give them Cause
 " to conspire against the Peace of it.

" *My Lords and Gentlemen*, it would look like
 " Flattery in me, to tell you to what Degree I am
 " confident of your Wisdom and Affection, in all
 " Things that relate to the Greatness and Prosperity
 " of the Kingdom. If you consider what is best for
 " us all, I dare say we shall not disagree."

The Com-
mons are
alarmed.

This Speech, added to the Declaration of the 26th
 of December, gave an Alarm to the House of Com-
 mons. One may almost be assured, that whatever the
 Commons had done in Favour of the King, was only
 with a view to have him pass the *Act of Uniformity*;
 and yet they saw him not only *dispense* with this same
Act, but even demand a Power to *dispense* with it, that
 is, to set it aside as often as he should think conve-
 nient.

1663,

nient. That this Dispensation was not only in favour of the *Presbyterians* who had the best Claim to it of all the other Sects, but moreover in favour of all the *Non-Conformists*. Nay, it was easy to perceive from what he had said touching the *Catholicks*, that his Intention was to prevent their being distinguished from the *Protestant Sects*, in Case his Desires were complied with. This Justice ought to be done to the *High-Church-Party*, that though their Enemies frequently brand them for *Papists*, on account of their extreme Attachment to some *Forms and Ceremonies*, yet are they as far removed from the Essence of *Poperie* as the other *Episcopalians*, and even the *Presbyterians* themselves : This they have demonstrated on several very remarkable Occasions. The House of *Commons*, which, as I said, was composed for the most Part of *High-Church-Men*, found in the King's Demand, two Articles equally opposite to their own Principles, that is to say, his *Indulgence* for both *Presbyterians* and *Catholicks*. And therefore they resolved on an Address to the King, wherein after the necessary Complements, they proceeded in the following manner.

“ IT is with extream Unwillingness and Reluctancy of Heart, that we are brought to differ from any Thing which your Majesty has thought fit to propose : And though we do no way doubt, but that the unreasonable Distempers of some Men's Spirits, and the many Mutinies and Conspiracies which were carried on during the late Intervals of Parliament, did reasonably incline your Majesty to endeavour by your *Declaration*, to give some Allay to those ill Humours, till the Parliament assembled ; and the Hopes of *Indulgence*, if the Parliament should consent to it ; especially seeing the Pretenders to this *Indulgence*, did seem to make some Titles to it, by virtue of your Majesty's Declaration from *Breda*. Nevertheless we your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, who now are returned to serve in Parliament from those several

Address of
the Com-
mons a-
bout the
King's De-
claration.

1663.

“ Parts and Places of your Kingdom, for which we
 “ were chosen, do humbly offer to your Majesty’s
 “ great Wisdom, that it is in no sort adviseable that
 “ there be any *Indulgence* to such Persons who pre-
 “ sume to dissent from the *Act of Uniformity*, and
 “ the Religion established : For these Reasons we
 “ have considered the Nature of your Majesty’s De-
 “ claration from *Breda*, and are humbly of Opinion,
 “ that your Majesty ought not to be pressed with it
 “ any further ; 1. Because it is not a *Promise* in it self,
 “ but only a gracious Declaration of your Majesty’s
 “ *Intentions*, to do what in you lay, and what a Par-
 “ liament should advise your Majesty to do ; and
 “ no such Advice was ever given or thought fit to
 “ be offered, nor could it be otherwise understood,
 “ because there were Laws of *Uniformity* then in Be-
 “ ing, which could not be dispensed with but by Act
 “ of Parliament. 2. They who do pretend a Right
 “ to that supposed *Promise*, put the Right into the
 “ Hands of their Representatives, whom they chose
 “ to serve from them in this Parliament, who have
 “ passed, and your Majesty consented to the *Act of*
 “ *Uniformity*. If any shall presume to say, that a
 “ Right to the Benefit of this Declaration doth still
 “ remain after this *Act* passed, 3. It tends to dissolve
 “ the very Bonds of Government, and to suppose a
 “ Disability in your Majesty and the Houses of Par-
 “ liament, to make a Law contrary to any Part of
 “ your Majesty’s Declaration, though both Houses
 “ should advise your Majesty to it.

“ We have also considered the *Nature* of the
 “ *Indulgence* proposed, with Reference to those Con-
 “ sequences that must necessarily attend it. 1. It will
 “ establish *Schism* by a Law, and make the whole
 “ Government of the Church precarious, and the
 “ Censures of it of no Moment or Consideration
 “ at all. 2. It will no way become the Gravity or
 “ Wisdom of a Parliament, to pass a Law at one
 “ Session for *Uniformity*, and at another Session (the
 “ Reasons of *Uniformity* continuing still the same) to
 “ pass

“ pass another Law to weaken or frustrate the Exe-
 “ cution of it. 3. It will expose your Majesty to the
 “ restless Importunity of every Sect or Opinion, and
 “ of every single Person also, who shall presume to
 “ dissent from the Church of *England*. 4. It will be a
 “ Cause of increasing *Sects* and *Sectaries*, whose Num-
 “ ber will weaken the true *Protestant* Profession so
 “ far, that it will at least be difficult for it to defend
 “ it self against them : And which is further consider-
 “ able, those Numbers, which by being troublesome
 “ to the Government, find they can arrive to an *In-*
 “ *dulgence*, will, as their Numbers increase, be yet
 “ more troublesome, so that at length they may ar-
 “ rive to a *General Toleration*, which your Majesty
 “ hath declared against, and in Time some prevalent
 “ *Sect* will at last contend for an *Establishment* ; which
 “ for ought that can be foreseen may end in *Poper*y.
 “ 5. It is a Thing altogether without Precedent, and
 “ it will take away all Means of convicting *Recusants*,
 “ and be inconsistent with the Method and Proceeding
 “ of the Laws of *England*. Lastly, it is humbly con-
 “ ceived, that the *Indulgence* proposed will be so far
 “ from tending to the Peace of the Kingdom, that
 “ it is rather likely to occasion great Disturbance.
 “ And on the contrary, that the asserting of the
 “ Laws and the Religion established according to the
 “ *Act of Uniformity*, is the most probable Means to
 “ produce a settled Peace and Obedience through-
 “ out your Kingdom ; because the Variety of Pro-
 “ fessions in Religion, when openly indulged doth di-
 “ rectly distinguish Men into *Parties*, and withal
 “ gives them Opportunity to count their Numbers ;
 “ which, considering the Animosities that of our a
 “ religious Pride will be kept on Foot by the several
 “ *Factions*, doth tend directly and inevitably to open
 “ Disturbance. Nor can your Majesty have any Se-
 “ curity, that the Doctrine or Worship of the se-
 “ veral Factions, which are all governed by a several
 “ Rule, shall be consistent with the Peace of your
 “ Kingdom. And if any Person shall presume to dis-

1663.

"turb the Peace of the Kingdom, we do in all Humility declare, *That we will for ever and on all Occasions, be ready with our utmost Endeavours and Assistance to adhere to, and serve your Majesty according to our bounden Duty and Allegiance.*"

The King's
Answer.

This Address, notwithstanding the Weakness of the Reasons alledged in it, had the Effect the Commons expected, which was to let the King see, that it would be in vain to endeavour to obtain from the Parliament a Power of dispensing with the *Uniformity Act*. He returned an Answer to it in Writing, about three Weeks after, which contained in Substance, that he would not reply to their Reasons, though he found that his Meaning had been ill understood; that he accepted thankfully their Offer to assist him against those Persons who should attempt to disturb the Publick Tranquillity.

The King
addressed
by the two
Houses.

As in the King's Speech and Declaration there were two Articles that gave an Alarm to the Parliament, one relating to the *Non-Conformists* in general, the other to the *Papists* in particular, the Commons, having acted against the former, resolved now to proceed against the latter. To this End, they obtained the Concurrence of the Lords for an Address to be jointly presented to the King, wherein the two Houses set forth, "That his Majesty's Lenity towards the *Papists*, had drawn into the Kingdom great Numbers of *Romish* Priests and *Jesuits*: They were therefore humble Suitors to him to issue out a Proclamation to command all *Jesuits*, and all *English, Irish, and Scottish* Priests, and all such other Priests as have taken Orders from the See of Rome, or by Authority thereof (except such foreign *Jesuits* and Priests as by Contract of Marriage are to attend the Persons of either of our Queens, or by the Law of Nations to attend our reign Ambassadors) to depart this Kingdom a Day, under Pain of having the Penalties of the Law inflicted upon them." The King answered in

Writing

Writing : “ That he was not a little troubled, that
 “ his Lenity and Condescension towards many of the
 “ *Popish* Perswasion (which were but natural Effects
 “ of his Generosity and good Nature, after having
 “ lived so many Years in the Dominions of *Roman*
 “ Catholick Princes ; and out of a just Memory
 “ of what many of them had done and suffered in
 “ the Service of his Father and himself ;) had been
 “ made so ill use of, and so ill deserved, that the Re-
 “ sort of *Jesuits* and *Priests* into his Kingdom, had
 “ been thereby increased, with which his Majesty
 “ was and is highly offended. But that he would
 “ issue out a Proclamation as he was desired, and
 “ take Care that it should be more punctually exe-
 “ cuted than any one of the like Nature had been
 “ before it. He declared farther to both Houses,
 “ and all his loving Subjects, that as his Affection
 “ and Zeal for the *Protestant*-Religion, and the
 “ Church of *England*, had not been concealed nor
 “ untaken notice of in the World, so he was not nor
 “ ever would be so sollicitous for the settling his
 “ own Revenue, or providing for the Peace and
 “ Tranquillity of the Kingdom, as for the Advance-
 “ ment and Improvement of the Religion established,
 “ and for the using and applying all proper and ef-
 “ fectual Remedies to hinder the Growth of *Popery*,
 “ both which he in Truth looked upon as the best
 “ Expedients to establish the Peace and Prosperity
 “ of all his Kingdoms.”

The Proclamation was accordingly published, but
 no better observed than all those that had been issued
 out for the same Purpose, since the Beginning of the
 Reign of *James I.* As it was not then known that the
 King was a *Catholick*, his Assurances of Zeal for the
Protestant-Religion were taken for so many Truths,
 which left no Room to suspect that he had the least
 Intention to restore the *Catholick*-Religion in *England*.
 As we are now better informed, we are better able
 to judge of his Intentions.

*A Procla-
 mation a-
 gainst Ro-
 mish
 Priests.*

1663.

*The King
demands a
Supply ;*

*has it
granted.*

This Affair being ended, the *Commons* proceeded next to examine the State of the King's ordinary Revenues, and to think of the Means to raise them to Twelve Hundred Thousand Pounds, as had been promised *. But as this Affair required a long Discussion, the King, who designed an immediate Prorogation of the Parliament, was willing to try one Expedient for drawing a speedy and extraordinary Supply from the *Commons*, till his Revenues could be settled. For this Purpose he sent for them to the *Banqueting-House*, and in a Speech, the most flattering, pathetick, and affectionate, that he had ever yet made, he demanded a present Supply of Money, without which he assured them it was impossible for him to extricate himself out of the Difficulties he was pressed with. He offered to show them that the Twelve Hundred Thousand Pounds formerly granted him, had been to the last Penny disposed for the Publick Service. But he well knew there was no hazard in the Offer, although it was not easy to imagine to what Publick Use this Money had been applied. However that be, the *Commons* moved with the King's great Affection for his People, and his ardent Zeal for the Protestant Religion, granted him four entire *Subsidies*, and the Clergy in *Convocation*, following their Example did the like *.

In

* The particular Branches of the Revenue were, the *Customs*, the *Excise*, the *Crown-Lands*, the *Hearth-Money*, the *Post-Office*, the *First-Fruits* and *Tithes*, the *Coinage*, the *Alienation-Office*, with other lesser Matters, which in all amounted to eleven Hundred Thousand Pounds or thereabouts.

* This was the last Aid the *Spirituality* gave : For it was resolved on hereafter to Tax the Church-Benefices as Temporal Estates were taxed ; which proved indeed a lighter Burden, but was not so honourable as when it was given by themselves. Yet Interest prevailing above the Point of Honour, they acquiesced in it. So the *Convocation* being no more necessary to the Crown this made that there was less Regard had to them afterwards. They were often discontinued and prorogued ; and when they met, it was only for Form. Burnet, p. 197.

In the mean Time the Chancellor's Credit daily declined, not that he had less Affection for the King, but probably, because the King was entering upon Projects advantageous neither to the State nor Religion, and therefore could not think this Minister a proper Instrument to assist him in the Execution of his Designs. If the Chancellor's Enemies had met with Encouragement from the King, his Disgrace had happened long before : But his Services, Affection, and Fidelity, as well during the King's Exile, as since his Restoration could not easily be forgotten. He therefore continued him, not only in his Post, but even in some Degree of his Favour, which made the *Papists* fear that he might in the End recover his Credit, and break all their Measures, This probably engaged the Earl of *Bristol*, a professed *Papist*, to do what he could utterly to ruin the Chancellor, by bringing before the Lords an Impeachment of High-Treason against him; believing doubtless, that the King would not be displeased to have him fall this way, as he would have no Hand in it. But if it was easy to accuse the Chancellor, it was not so to draw up an Impeachment so plausible and well connected as to make him appear Criminal. The Articles exhibited against him by the Earl of *Bristol*, were to this Effect.

1663.
The Chancellor's Credit declines.

" 1. That he had endeavoured to alienate the Hearts of his Majesty's Subjects, by artificially insinuating to his Creatures and Dependents, That his Majesty was inclined to Popery, and designed to alter the established Religion.

Articles of Accusation against him.
Echard, p. 809.

" 2. He had said to several Persons of his Majesty's Privy-Council, *That his Majesty was dangerously corrupted in his Religion, and inclined to Popery : That Persons of that Religion had such Access, and such Credit with him, that unless there were a careful Eye had upon it, the Protestant Religion would be overthrown in this Kingdom.*

" 3. Upon

1663.

“ 16. That having arrogated to himself a supream Direction of all his Majesty’s Affairs, he had prevailed to have his Majesty’s *Customs* farmed at a lower Rate than others offered, and that by Persons with some of whom he went a Share, and other Parts of Money resulting from his Majesty’s Revenues.”

Rejected by the Lords.

Without entering into the Particulars of this Charge, I shall content my self with observing that it was unanimously rejected, as it was altogether improbable, and even contradictory. For besides that it was known that the Earl of *Clarendon* was not at all less prejudiced against the *Papists* than against the *Presbyterians*; it could not but appear strange that an open and declared *Papist*, as the Earl of *Bristol* was, should accuse the Chancellor of favouring the *Romish* Religion, and on the other Hand insinuate that the King was a *Papist*, in order to have him lose the Affections of his Subjects. But what was still more extraordinary in this Impeachment was, that what the Chancellor was accused of having published against the King, was exactly true in itself, and yet the Earl of *Bristol* would have had it pass for pure Calumny.

The Revenues of the Post settled on the Duke of York.

In this Session, the Parliament granted to the Duke of *York* the Revenues of the *Post-Office* and *Wine-Licenses*. These Revenues, which rose considerably afterwards, enabled the Duke of *York* to keep a separate Court, and to live independent of any Assistance from his Brother.

The Parliament prorogued.

The 27th of *July* the King gave his Assent to the *Subsidy-Act* and some others, after which he prorogued the Parliament to the 16th of *March* of following Year 1663-4.

The King makes a Progress.

Shortly after the King and Queen made a Progress into the *West*, where they were received with great Pomp and Magnificence, particularly at *Gloucester*. This was only a Journey of Pleasure, and

ter five or six Weeks spent in it, they returned to London in the Month of *October*. 1663.

While the King was upon his Progress, a Conspiracy was discovered carried on by the *Old Common-wealths-Men* and *Independents*, with Design to restore the *Republican* Form of Government. It is pretended, that their Intent was to seize several Towns, particularly in the *North*, where they believed themselves strongest, and then to make a general Insurrection. But one of the Accomplices making a Discovery, many were apprehended, and One and Twenty convicted, and executed the *January* following. It was assured that *Ludlow* and *Lambert* were to put themselves at the Head of these Rebels, though the first never stirred out of *Switzerland*, whither he had fled for Refuge. As for *Lambert*, besides that he never left the *Isle* of *Guernsey* where he was confined; if any Proofs had appeared against him, he doubtless would not have been spared. It is true that *Ludlow*, in his *Memoirs*, seems to own that there was this Year some Commotion among the *Republicans* in *England*.

A Plot of the Republicans and Independents.

This Year died Dr. *Juxon* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and was succeeded by *Sheldon* Bishop of *London*.

Dr. *Juxon* dies.

The Parliament meeting the 16th of *March*, the King, in a Speech to both Houses, demanded a Repeal of the *Triennial Act* made in 1641. To compass this he enlarged upon the late Conspiracy, which he said was still on Foot, and that there were Men, who, on Pretence that this Parliament was at an end by Virtue of some Clause in the *Triennial Bill*, fancied they might assemble themselves and chuse new Members. He desired the two Houses not to leave an *Act* in Being which was such a Disgrace to the Crown, and made in a Time when the Royal Prerogative was but little regarded. Lastly, He told them that he loved Parliaments: That none of his Predecessors had ever been so much beholden to them as himself, and that he was perswaded no King of

1693-4.

The King's Speech to the Parliament.

1663-4. of *England* could ever be Happy without frequent Parliaments : But that he would never suffer a Parliament to come together by the Means prescribed by that Bill. He then told them, that the four Subsidies granted him the last Session, had fallen very short of the Sum which he expected, or they intended : That the Revenues of the *Excise*, and *Tonnage* and *Poundage* came but to little through the Frauds of *Brewers* and *Merchants*, and that the Tax upon *Chimneys* declined the last half Year, not having produced so much as the former. He therefore prayed them to let him have the collecting this Tax by his own Officers.

1664. The Commons returning to their own House, went immediately upon a Bill to revoke the *Triennial Act*, and to make another in its room, intituled, *An Act for the assembling and holding of Parliaments once in three Years at least*. This Bill being ready, and the Lords having given their Consent to it, the King came to their House the 5th of *April*, and gave it the Royal Assent.

Cause of
the Dutch
War.

For some Time past the King had resolved upon a War with *Holland* : But it was difficult to come at the true Reason of this Resolution. For the Causes alledged were only general, except the taking of two Ships in the *East-Indies*, valued at the most but at Eight or Ten Thousand Pounds *Sterling*. If some *English* Historians deserve Credit, the King had no Thoughts of this War : The *Dutch*, according to these Historians, were Aggressors, and being encouraged by Promise of great Assistance from *France*, watched Opportunities for a Breach with *England*. The same Historians pretend farther, that it was at the pressing Instances of the Parliament that the King was drawn into this War, to revenge the Wrongs and Damages done by the *Dutch* to the *English* in *India*, *Africa*, and elsewhere. But as these Historians mention no Particulars, and only deal in general Complaints, we should receive but very indifferent Information in this Matter, if we should mind only what they tell us. I

shall therefore relate what I meet with in others, who set this Matter in a clearer Light. 1664.

The 27th of *April* 1662, the *States-General* of the *United Provinces* made a Treaty with the King of *France*, by which both Parties engaged to assist one another, in Case of any Attack upon either in *Europe*. The same Year they made a like Treaty of *Sept. 24.* League and Alliance with the King of *England*. This had relation to another made in 1659, between *England* and the *States* before the King's Restoration, and seemed to have been renewed only to supply the Defect of a lawful Authority to that concluded by *England*. Nevertheless it happened, in the Interval of the two Treaties, that the *Dutch* had fallen upon, and sunk or taken in the *Indies* two *English* Ships, called the *Bonadventure* and the *Good-Hope*, which had bred a Misunderstanding between the two Nations. The *English* pretended that these two Ships had been attacked without any just Cause, and the *Hollanders* maintained the contrary. In the Treaty of the Year 1662, the Affair of these two Ships was again brought into Agitation; but as their Value was inconsiderable, it was not thought proper to break off a Treaty for so slight a Cause, which promised much Advantage to both Nations. It was therefore agreed, that the *English* should be allowed to prosecute the Suit commenced on account of these two Ships, and the *States* deposited Fourscore Thousand *Florins* by way of Security to pay the full Value in case the Affair was decided against them. Some Time after another Dispute arose upon the same Subject; and this was, the King pretended that the *States-General* were Judges of this Process: to which the *States* replied, That it lay before the Admiralty of *Amsterdam*, which only had a Right to decide it. The Affair hung thus in Suspence till the Month of *April* this Year, when the *Commons*, after an Examination of the Obstructions of the Trade of the Nation, voted, and obtained the Concurrence of the Lords to their Vote, " That the Injuries, Insults, and In-

Vote of the
Parlia-
ments a-
gainst
the Dutch.

" dignities

1664.

“ dignities put upon his Majesty by the Subjects of
 “ the *United-Provinces* in *India*, *Africk*, and other
 “ Places; and the Damages done to the *English*
 “ Merchants by the said Subjects of the *United-Pro-*
 “ *vinces*, were the greatest Obstacles to the Trade
 “ of *England*. That a speedy Remonstrance of this
 “ should be made to the King, who should be hum-
 “ bly moved to use the most effectual Means for Re-
 “ dress of these Injuries, and others of the like Na-
 “ ture, and for preventing the like for the future.
 “ That for this Purpose the two Houses would stand
 “ by his Majesty with their Lives and Fortunes a-
 “ gainst all Opposers”. In Pursuance of this Reso-
 “ lution the two Houses presented, the same Day, an
 Address to the King, to which on the Morrow, they
 received this Answer: “ That he was pleased with
 “ their Zeal for the Advancement of Trade, and
 “ the Removal of all Obstructions which might
 “ hinder the same; being convinced that nothing
 “ would more contribute to the Honour of the Na-
 “ tion, and the Prosperity of his People: That he
 “ would examine the particular Complaints brought
 “ before the Parliament, and order his Minister in
 “ *Holland* to demand speedy Reparation, and that in
 “ Case of a Denial, he relied on their Promise and
 “ Declaration to stand by him”.

*The Parli-
 ament Ad-
 dresses the
 King.
 His An-
 swer.*

It is easy to see that no Particulars were specified either in the Address or the Answer, and that hitherto all was confined to general Complaints. It will afterwards appear, that the *English* always kept to the same Expressions, till the Conclusion of the Peace, when they were obliged to declare the Injuries they complained of, the Principal of which was the Loss of the two Ships before-mentioned. It is now Time to show that when these Complaints were laid before the Parliament, the King had already resolved on the War, and that these Complaints were only designed for a Pretence for the War, and to engage the Parliament to furnish him with Supplies to support it.

1664.

Since the Treaty of the Year 1662, the *States* had great Cause of Complaints against the *Algerines*, notwithstanding the Peace concluded between them in the Year 1661. *England* was no less concerned than the *States* in the Depredations committed by the *Algerines* upon all sorts of Ships, and therefore the *States* had desired the King of *England* to join a Squadron of his Ships with one they were putting to Sea, to oblige these *Corfsairs* to a more exact Observation of the Peace. The King answered, that he had rather act separately.

After this Answer, the *States* sent *Ruyter* into the *Mediterranean*, and the King sent thither a Fleet of Twenty-one Ships under the Command of *Lawson*. These two Fleets set sail in *May* this Year, and much about the same time the Duke of *York*, as Governor of the Royal *African* Company, sent Vice-Admiral *Holms* to *Cape Verd*, with a Squadron of Fourteen Men of War, to take all possible Advantages against the *Dutch East-India Company*. *Lawson* meeting *Ruyter* in the *Mediterranean*, was saluted by the *Dutch* Admiral, but returned not the Complement contrary to what had been stipulated in the Treaty of the Year 1662. It is not necessary to take Notice here of the little Success *Lawson* and *Ruyter* had against the *Algerines*. What *Holms* did at *Cape Verd* is of much more Importance.

In the Months of *August* and *September*, *Holms* made himself Master of Fort St. *Andrews*, and most other Places belonging to the *Dutch* in the Neighbourhood of *Cape Verd*, and after he had taken the Fort built upon the *Cape* itself, he gave it the Name of *York*. He erected a Fort in the Mouth of the River o *Gambia*, and then sailing for *Guinea*, seized all the Forts which the *Dutch* had on these Coasts. Fort *Abin* and Fort St. *George de la Mine* excepted. After this he returned into *England*. Now if it is considered that *Holms* left *England* in *May*, or at the latest in *June*: that some time was required to mann out this Fleet, and that the Parliament's Address was not pre-

1664.

demand'd of the *States* a Reparation for these pretended Injuries.

What farther confirms what I have been saying, is, that upon the Prorogation of the Parliament the *Speaker* of the House of *Commons*, in a Speech to the King, told him, that the House having examined the Damages sustained from the *Dutch*, found that they amounted to Seven or Eight Hundred Thousand Pounds *Sterling*; though *Downing* had not yet given in his Memorial to the *States*, nor, consequently, received any Answer.

ABs.

The 17th of *May* the King coming to the Parliament, the *Speaker* presented the *Bills* which were ready, and amongst the rest one for empowering the King to levy the *Chimney-Money* by his own Officers, as he had desired. This *Bill* was afterwards the Subject of great Vexations, Complaints, and Murmurs, which oblig'd King *William III* to drop this Tax; though, as it had been levied in the Reigns of *Charles II* and *James II*, it amounted yearly to above Two Hundred and Fifty-six Thousand Pounds. After the *Speaker* had done with this *Bill*, he told the King:

The *Speaker's*
Speech
to the King.

“ While we were intent upon these weighty Affairs, we were often interrupted by *Petitions*, and *Letters*, and *Motions*, representing the unsettled Condition of some Counties by reason of *Phanatics*, *Sectaries*, and *Non-conformists*: They differ in their Shapes and Species, and accordingly are more or less dangerous, but in this they all agree they are no Friends to the established Government either in Church or State; and if the old Rule be true, *Qui Ecclesiæ contradicit non est Pacificus*, we have great reason to prevent their Growth, and to punish their Practice. To this purpose we have prepared a Bill against their frequenting of *Conventicles*, the Seed-Plots and Nurseries of their Opinions, under pretence of religious Worship. The first Offence is made punishable with Five Pounds, or

“ Three

1664.

“ Three Months Imprisonment, and Ten Pounds for
 “ a Peer : The second Offence with Ten Pounds,
 “ or Six Months Imprisonment, and Twenty Pounds
 “ for a Peer : But the third Offence, after a Tryal
 “ by a *Jury*, and the Tryal of a Peer by his Peers,
 “ the Party convicted shall be transported to some
 “ foreign Plantation, unless he lays down an Hun-
 “ dred Pounds—*Immedicabile vulnus Ense rescinden-*
 “ *dum ne Pars sincera trabatur.*”

The *Presbyterians* alone exceeded in Number all the other Sects put together. From the time of the Restoration they had never been accused of making any Insurrection against the Government, or of having entred into the Conspiracies of the *Anabaptists* and *Republicans*; nevertheless this *Act* subjected them to the same Penalties which were laid on the other *Sects*, and on Pretence that their religious *Meetings* were *Seminaries* of Sedition, and their Doctrines pernicious to the Government in Church and State, they were adjudged worthy to be transported into *America*, if they had the Boldness to meet the Third time. It appears from this extreme Rigour, that the Intention was not so much to punish their pretended Transgressions, as to drive them to Despair, and so force them into real Crimes.

A Res-
fection
upon this
Act.

After the King had passed these *Acts* he prorogued the Parliament to the Month of *August*, signifying at the same time his Intention that it should not meet till *November*, unless a certain Affair obliged him to summon it sooner.

Proroga-
tion of the
Parlia-
ment.

This Affair was the War which the King had resolved on against the *States-General*. For this Purpose *Downing* presented to the *States* a Memorial drawn up in very high Terms, wherein he demanded on the Part of the King a Reparation for the Damages done to the *English*, which by his Calculation amounted to Seven or Eight Hundred Thousand Pounds *Sterling*. After all the Pains I have taken, and all the Search I have made, I have not been able to discover any

The King
demand
Reparation
of Dama-
ges.

1664.

more Particulars of these Damages, than the two Ships before-mentioned, and another Article relating to the Isle of *Poleçon*, of which I shall speak hereafter. Wherefore, in Imitation of the *English* Historians, I find my self under a Necessity of leaving the Reader in the Dark with regard to the Particulars of the Damages which gave rise to this War.

An Am-
bassador
sent from
the States.

The King was resolved on War at all Hazards, and the *States* did all that lay in their Power to divert it. Nevertheless, not judging it proper to treat with

Downing, who behaved to them with great Haughtiness, they answered his Memorial by saying, that they would send an Ambassadour to the King: And accordingly, shortly after they dispatched *Van Goch*, who had his first Audience of the King the 25th of *June*. As he was speaking in this Audience of the Trade of *Africa* and the *Indies*, the King interrupted him, and said it was not to be endured that the *Dutch West-India* Company should pretend, by Means of three or four Ships, and a few Forts on the Coast of *Guinea*, to exclude other Nations from that Commerce. The Ambassador answered, that these things had been adjusted in the last Treaty, and the Question now was whether the *States* had violated that part of the Treaty or not. Afterwards, the *States* being informed of the Hostilities committed by *Holms* at *Cape Verd* and in *Guinea*, their Ambassador complained to the King, who answered, That he was altogether ignorant of what was doing in those Parts of the World. Some Days after the Ambassador presented a large Memorial on that Subject, with a fresh Complaint, that the King had forbid the Importation of any *Dutch* Commodities into *England*. The King answered to the first Article of this Memorial as before, that he had no knowledge of it as he was acting by *Holmes*; and to the second, that the Prohibition of Commodities was upon the Account of the Plague then reigning in *Holland*. It appeared in the Sequel, that the King looked on the Affair of *Cape Verd* and *Guinea* as no way relating to him,

as a private Difference between the *English* and *Dutch* Companies, and therefore no Care had been taken to inform him about it. But it will be very difficult to conceive how the Duke of *York*, as Governour of the Royal *African-Company*, could send a Fleet of Twenty-one Men of War to *Guinea* without the King's Knowledge. 1664.

While *Downing* at the *Hague*, and *Van Goch* at *London*, presented Memorials upon Memorials without any Success, the King was busy in equipping his Fleet. Money being now low with him, he borrowed One Hundred Thousand Pounds of the City of *London*, who willingly lent that Sum, believing that the King had only in View the Raising the *English* Trade by the Destruction of that of *Holland*. The *States* on their Side made Preparations for a Defence, but not with the same Vigour that their Enemies were preparing to attack them. Their Design was to gain time, in hopes that their Fleets of Merchant-Men would return before the War was declared; and the King's Intention was to intercept those Fleets before any Declaration of War. *Preparations to the War.*
The City of London lends the King Money.

The King discovered his Intention in a manner not possible to be mistaken. For having put his Fleet to Sea under the Command of the Duke of *York* as High-Admiral, the Fleet met in *November*, with the *Dutch Bourdeaux* Fleet Home-ward bound, laden with Wine and Brandy, and took One Hundred and Thirty of them, which were brought into *England*, and condemned for lawful Prizes, though War had not been yet proclaimed. It is not necessary to make any Reflections on the King's Conduct, nor on the Judgement of the *English* Admiralty. Every unprejudiced Man will easily acknowledge that the Law of Nations was never more unjustly, or manifestly violated. The vain Endeavours of some Historians to palliate this Action with two Reasons, only shew, by the Weakness of their Allegations, how little themselves were convinced of the Justice of it. Their first Reason is, that about the same time *Ruyter* drove *The English intercept the Dutch Merchant Men returning from Bourdeaux before the War was declared. A Resolution upon this Procedure.*
the

1664.

the *English* from their Settlements at *Cape Verd*, and on the Coasts of *Guinea*. But first they take no notice that these Settlements were pure Usurpations of the *English*, who had this very Year dispossessed the *Dutch* of them. Secondly, *Ruyter* did not recover the Forts at *Cape Verd* and on the Coasts of *Guinea* till the following Year 1665. For it is to be observed, that *Holms* committed his Hostilities at *Cape Verd* in the Months of *August* and *September*, and afterwards sailed to the Coasts of *Guinea*, where he seized several Forts. The News therefore of this must first be brought to *Holland*, then the *States* had to send to *Ruyter* in the *Mediterranean* to repass the *Streights*, and make sail to *Cape Verd*; and lastly, *Ruyter* had his Orders to execute, and the News of his Expedition was to be brought to *England*. Now if all this could not be effected within the Compass of Six Weeks, how is it possible to justify the taking of the *Bordeaux* Fleet in the Month of *November*, on account of the Expedition of *Ruyter* to *Cape Verd* and *Guinea* Three Months afterwards? The second Reason given by these Historians is, that this was no War of the King's, but of the People and Parliament; as if, supposing it to be so, the People and the Parliament were less obliged than the King to observe the Law of Nations. But this was not the only Crime of this Nature in which King *Charles's* eager Desire of Money engaged him.

In the mean time the King of *France* apprehending that he would at last be involved in this War by assisting the *States*, pursuant to the Treaty of 1662, believed it incumbent upon him to use some Endeavours to prevent it, and to that End offered his Mediation to the two Parties. The *States* willingly accepted it, but it was rejected by *Charles*, who id, that he would enter into no Negotiation till he had received full Satisfaction to his Demands. He had already sent Sir *Richard Fanshawe* into *Spain*, and the Lord *Hollis* into *France*, to endeavour to bring 1 ose Crowns to a War with the *Dutch*. But he was uc-
ful

cessful neither at *Paris* nor *Madrid*. Notwithstanding, he persisted in his Resolution for the War, though he had no other Reasons to alledge for it than the pretended Depredations committed by the *Dutch* upon the *English*, the Particulars of which were never known to this Day.

When it is considered with what Animosity this War was undertaken and carried on, not only by the King, the Duke of *York*, and the Ministry, but even by the Parliament itself, one can hardly help thinking that those who excited this Animosity had some other secret End than that of supporting Trade. But hitherto only Conjectures have been offered on this Subject. Some have said that this War ought to be ascribed solely to the Ambition of the Duke of *York*, who was impatient to distinguish himself, by commanding, as Lord High-Admiral, the King his Brother's Fleet. Others have believed that the King finding his Coffers quite empty, notwithstanding all the Money given him by the Parliament, and that raised by the Sale of *Dunkirk*, secretly engaged the Parliament to propose this War to him, for a Pretence of demanding extraordinary Supplies, which were by no Means to be all expended in the Prosecution of this War. There are others who have believed that the King, the Parliament, the City of *London*, found this War absolutely necessary to humble the Maritime Power of the *Dutch*, who aimed to engross the whole Commerce of *Europe*, as they had already done that of the *Indies*: That although the Causes of the War were never fully made known, yet all the World was sufficiently apprized that it was on account of Trade. Lastly, there are others who have suspected that the Project to introduce *Popery* into *England* being already formed, the Execution of it was only respited till the *Dutch* were rendred unable to aid the *English* Protestants, since it was only from them that they could expect Assistance. I shall not take upon me to determine what were the secret Motives of this War, which certainly was undertaken

Conjectures upon the Grounds of this War.

1664. 5.

Ruyter
recovers
the Places
taken from
the Dutch
at Cape
Verd and
Guinea.

The Money
Bill is
passed.

A Remark
upon this
Declara-
tion.

When the *States* were informed of the Hostilities committed by *Holmes* at *Cape Verd* and *Guinea*, they dispatched an Express to *Ruyter*, to order him to repairs the *Streights*, and make Sail towards these Coasts, to recover what the *Dutch West-India Company* had lost. *Ruyter* executed this Order with great Vigour, and retook most of the Forts the *English* had taken from the Company. He likewise seized several Ships belonging to the *English*. The News of this reached *London* the Beginning of *February*, and furnished the King with a new Pretence for the Declaration of War, which was published a few Days after.

The Parliament meeting the 12th of *January*, the House of *Commons* went immediately upon the Money Bill, as the most pressing Affair. This Bill being ready, the King came to the House to give his Assent; which done, he proclaimed War against the *States-General* in due and usual Form. The Declaration was founded upon the numberless Injuries and inexpressible Dangers which the *English* had suffered from the *Dutch*, without being able to come at any Reparation. The King added, That he did not detain the Ships belonging to the *Dutch*, till he found that Orders had been given to *Ruyter* not only to abandon the Consortship against the *Algerines*, to which he had been invited, but also to use all Acts of Depredation against his Subjects in *Africa*. He therefore declared to the whole World that the *Dutch* were the Aggressors, and ought in Justice to be so looked upon by all Men.

What is truly astonishing in this Declaration is, that the King took no Care to preserve even the Appearances of Truth, as if his Subjects and all *Europe* had been void of common Sense, or no Body known that the Fleet from *Bourdeaux* had been interceded in *November*, before *Ruyter* had reached *Guinea*. He would have all the World ignorant, because he had a Mind to be thought so himself, that *Holmes* begun his Hostilities at *Cape Verd* and *Guinea* in Months of *August* and *September*. In short, he w

have all the World believe him on his bare Word, that the *English* had suffered inestimable Losses, and yet not one was specified. This Declaration was supported with the Opinions of Twenty-two Privy-Counsellors only, the Earls of *Southampton* and *Clarendon* having been either unable, or unwilling to be present when it was resolved. It bore Date the 22d of *February*, but was not made Publick till the 2d of *March*.

The King having Notice that some Bills were ready for the Royal Assent, came to the Parliament the 2d of *March*, and after he had passed these Bills, which, as of no great Importance, I forbear to mention; he prorogued the Parliament to the 21st of *June*. Afterwards he continued the Prorogation to the 1st of *August*, and then to the 9th of *October*. *The Parliament prorogued.*

In this Session the Clergy voluntarily gave up their Right of Taxing themselves in *Convocation*, and from this Time have been confounded with the rest of the People with regard to the publick Taxes. This has made *Convocations* less necessary to the King, and by Consequence less considerable in themselves. *The Clergy give up their Right of taxing themselves.*

The War being declared, the Duke of *York*, in the end of *March*, repaired to the Fleet which he was to command, consisting of one Hundred and seven Men of War, and fourteen Fire-Ships. But as the Fleet was not yet quite ready, he could not sail till the Month of *May*. 1665.

Some Time since the *States*, perceiving that a War was unavoidable, had pressed the King of *France* to declare against *England*, pursuant to the Treaty of the Year 1662, but had not yet been able to prevail. *Charles* on his Side solicited him to abandon the *States*, and laid before him very tempting Advantages. So that *Lewis* was at a Stand. He was desirous to keep fair with the King of *England*, whom he foresaw, he might one Day stand in need of: And on the other Hand, if he should abandon the *States*, there was Danger of their being oppressed with the Weight of *The King of France's Conduct with regard to the War between England and Holland.*

1665: this War, and that the Pensioner *de Wit* might lose all his Credit and Interest with them. This, should it happen, he considered, would be attended with a Change in the Government; the young Prince of *Orange* would be restored to the Dignities of his Ancestors, and consequently the King of *England* become in effect the Master of *Holland*. It was through the sole Influence of the Pensioner that the *States* were attached to the Interests of *France*, and consequently his Fall must be attended with great Prejudice to the Affairs of that Kingdom. The Part therefore which *Lewis* chose, was to gain as much Time as he could, sometimes by cavilling at the Terms of the Treaty of 1662, sometimes by hopes given to the *States* of his declaring against *England*, and lastly, by a splendid Ambassy to *London*, with the Duke of *Verneuil* at the Head of it, to mediate a Peace between *England* and *Holland*. In order to know fully the Situation his Affairs were then in, let us hear what he says himself in his Letter to the Count *d' Estrades* his Ambassador at the *Hague*, dated the 19th of *December* 1664.

His Letter
to the
Count d'E-
strades.

“ Nevertheless I own to you that I find my self in
“ some Difficulties. If I execute the Treaty accord-
“ ing to the Letter, I shall very much prejudice my
“ principal Interest, and this in favour of a Nation,
“ which not only will never be serviceable to me,
“ but even opposite to my Interest in the only Case
“ where I should have occasion for them, and when-
“ ever that happens, the Assistance which they will
“ have received from me will turn to my Disadvan-
“ tage. Besides this, I lose *England*, which is upon
“ the Point of concluding a strict Alliance with
“ *Spain*, in case the Offers it makes me are rejected.
“ And these Offers, for I may trust you with the Se-
“ cret, are a Concession of every Thing which I
“ desire with Regard to the *Netherlands*, without
“ Inch of Ground desired for *England*. Besides
“ King of *England* himself suggests to me the
“ of disengaging with Honour from my Obligations
“ to the *Dutch*. He pretends that they are the
“ gress

"gressors ; that he has a Right to the Forts which
 "they have seized in *Guinea* : That they first ap-
 "peared in Arms : That they have made a National
 "Quarrel of a private Difference between two Com-
 "panies, who ought to have ended their own Dis-
 "putes : That they committed the first Act of Vio-
 "lence in their unhandsome Usage of one of his
 "Ships laden with Masts from *Sweden*. That how-
 "ever, I am only engaged for what passes in *Eu-
 rope* : That it is visible that only this Difference
 "relating to *Guinea* has any Difficulty to decide, all
 "other Pretensions being easy to determine : That
 "it is by no Means just that their capricious Obsti-
 "nacy, to maintain a Country, for which I am un-
 "der no Engagement, should kindle a War on this
 "Side the World, because as I am only obliged for
 "the Principal, I cannot stand engaged for the Ad-
 "ditions and Dependencies. I omit the Trick play-
 "ed me by the *States of Munster*, &c. This is to be
 "a Secret between you and me."

I cannot forbear making some Remarks upon this Letter. *Reflections upon this Letter.*

The First is, that it is manifest from hence, that the King of *France* had no Hand at all in exciting the War between *England* and *Holland*, as most of the *English* Historians pretend.

The Second is, that if *Charles* had really aimed at the Welfare of his Kingdom in undertaking this War, he would not have offered the King of *France* such unlimited Conditions with regard to the *Netherlands*, only to have it in his Power to destroy *Holland*. This was directly opposite to the Interests of *England*, and of quite another Importance than the Satisfaction demanded for the Injuries which his Subjects might have received from the *Dutch*.

My third Remark is, that one sees not in these Allegations of *Charles* to *Lewis*, to prove the *Dutch* to be the Aggressors, any Thing of the pretended Damages of Eight Hundred Thousand Pounds : But that

1665. that the principal Point in Dispute was the Propriety of some Forts on the Coast of *Guinea*, which according to what *Charles* alledged, was only an Affair between two Companies, and that the Rest was easy to be adjusted.

My fourth Remark is, that *Charles* supposes the *States* to have made it a National Quarrel, by sending *Ruyter* to *Guinea*; but that himself had not meddled in this Affair, as *Lawson* had been only sent with Twenty-one Sail, in the Name of the Duke of *York*, and the Royal *African-Company*.

My last Remark is, that the *States* had no Reason to expect any great Assistance from *France*, unless the Fate of War should reduce them to a Necessity of having it, or the King of *France* should find some considerable Advantage in espousing their Quarrel.

It was therefore to gain Time that the Ambassy was sent to *London*, because *Lewis* pretended, that whilst he could have any Hope of an Accommodation, he was not obliged to declare against *England*. Now as long as his Ambassadors were at *London*, he might say that the Hope of a Reconciliation was not entirely desperate. He managed so artfully, that he kept them there till the End of the Year 1665, so that he declared not against *England* till January 1666, and that when he did declare the *States* received no great Advantage from it.

The Duke
of York
sails out
with the
English
Fleet.

The Duke of *York* put to Sea with the *English* Fleet in the Month of *May*; and before the *Dutch* Fleet could be got together, he alarmed the Coasts of *Holland*. He continued fifteen Days together near the *Texel*, to prevent the Fleet of *Holland* from coming out to join that of *Zeland*, in which he could not fail of Success. During this Space he took several *Dutch* Ships, which fell into his Hands as they were returning Home, and had heard nothing of the War. Nevertheless, as the War was not undertaken merely to prevent this Junction, the Duke at last sailed away with a Design to fall upon *Ruyter*, who was returning to *Holland* by an Order from the *States*. But

Di e

Duke finding that his Provisions were consumed in an uncertain Expectation, he drew his Fleet into the Road of *Harwich*, contenting himself with sending out some Frigates to cruise in the Channel, and bring him Intelligence of the Enemy. 1665.

In the mean while the *Holland* and *Zealand* Squadrons joined and formed a Fleet of one Hundred and Twenty-one Men of War, besides Fire-Ships, under the chief Command of *Obdam de Wassenauer*. He had under him *Cortenaar* Vice-Admiral of the *Maese*, *Evertzen* Vice-Admiral of *Zealand*, and *Cornelius Tromp* Son of the famous *Martin Tromp*. The Rear-Admirals and Captains were very far from equalling their Superiours in Capacity, more Care having been taken to fill these Posts with the Relations and Friends of the *Pensioner's* Confidants, than with experienced Officers. So that excepting fifteen or sixteen Captains, the rest were unexperienced Officers; this is a Misfortune to which Republicks are more liable than Monarchies. Although *De Wit* governed Affairs as he pleased, yet he had for Enemies all the *Partizans* of the House of *Orange*, who were Spies upon his Conduct, and gave every Thing he did an invidious Turn, in order to effect his Ruin. The *Pensioner* was not ignorant of this, and therefore believed that the only way to secure himself, and preserve his Authority, was to hazard a Naval Engagement. Success would disarm the Malice of his Enemies, and the Loss of a Battle would of course oblige the *French* to execute the Treaty of 1662, and silence the Murmurs of the Faction of the House of *Orange*, which industriously published that *Lewis* only intended to amuse the *States*. Agreeably to this Resolution, to which the *Pensioner* had likewise brought the *States*, an Order was dispatched to *Obdam*, to go in quest of, and fight the Enemy. He obeyed, and came up with them the 1st of *June*, not far from *Harwich* *. But the Wind being southerly, and the Day

The Fleet of the States.

Put under the Command of Obdam.

Wh, returns Or- ders to fight.

* Rapin by mistake says, twelve Miles from Colchester.

1665.

“ nor *Penn* for obeying it. He indeed put *Brounker*
 “ out of his Service, and it was said, that he durst
 “ do no more, *Brounker* was so much in the King’s
 “ Favour and the Mistress’s. *Penn* was more in his
 “ Favour after that than ever before, which he con-
 “ tinued to his Son after him, though a *Quaker*.
 “ And it was thought that all that Favour was to
 “ oblige him to keep the Secret. Lord *Montague* did
 “ believe that the Duke was struck, seeing the Earl
 “ of *Falmouth* the King’s Favourite, and two other
 “ Persons of Quality killed very near him; and that
 “ he had no Mind to engage again, and that *Penn*
 “ was privately with him. If *Brounker* was so much
 “ in the Fault as he seemed to be, it was thought
 “ the Duke, in the Passion that this must have raised
 “ in him, would have proceeded to greater Ex-
 “ tremities, and not have acted with so much
 “ Phlegm.”

*Medals
 struck in
 honour of
 the Duke
 of York.*

The Duke of *York* finding that it would be to no Purpose to continue the Pursuit of the Enemy’s Fleet, retired to the Coasts of *England*, and rode Post to *Whitehall* to receive the Acclamations of the Court and Citizens of *London*. The King appointed a Day of Thanksgiving throughout the Kingdom for this Victory, and several Medals were struck in Honour of the Victorious Duke of *York*, who was now in the Height of his Glory. For besides that he was Lord High-Admiral, Governour of the *Cinque-Ports*, and of *Portsmouth*, and had the Benefit of the *Post-Office*, and the *Wine-Licences*, which, altogether, enabled him to keep a splendid Court, he had an Advantage still far more considerable. This was the Regard paid him as presumptive Heir to the King his brother, who had no Children by his Queen. This added Numbers to his Interests, particularly the *Parliament*, who knew his Religion, though he, as well as the King, kept it yet a Secret.

Shortly after the Queen-Mother having taken a Resolution to end her Days in *France*, the King and the Duke of *York* attended her to the *Buoy of the Nore*, and there took their last Leave of her. It is very likely that she was not pleased with having so small a Share in the Publick Affairs, as she had been used to the contrary in the preceeding Reign.

1665.
The Queen
Mother re-
turns into
France.

Glorious as this first Action upon the Sea had proved to the Duke of *York*, the King and Council did not think it proper to expose him to the Dangers of a second Engagement. Therefore the Command of the Fleet was given to the Earl of *Sandwich*, who used all his Endeavours to have it ready to put to Sea as soon as possible, in order to be before-hand with the *States*, who laboured to repair theirs with all Diligence. Besides, the *States*, who had put *Ruyter* in the Place of *Obdam*, ordered him to return immediately with the Fleet, consisting of Seventeen Men of War. These Precautions were not taken so much with a Design to have a Revenge upon the *English*, as to secure their Merchant-men Home-ward bound from *Smyrna* and the *East-Indies*. The *English*, on their Side, were less desirous to fight than to seize the Riches which those Fleets were bringing to *Holland*.

The Eng-
lish Fleet
put under
the Com-
mand of
the Earl of
Sandwich,

and that
of the
Dutch un-
der Ruy-
ter.

It happened in the mean Time, that the *Dutch-Smyrna-Fleet*, and several *East-India* Ships not daring to come into the *Channel*, retired to the Port of *Bergben* in *Norway*, waiting for *Ruyter* to convoy them to *Holland*. During this, the King of *Denmark*, discoursing one Day with Sir *Gilbert Talbot* the *English* Envoy, made great Complaints of the *Dutch*, who, he said, had drawn the *Sweedish* War on him, that he might be forced to depend on them for Supplies, and to get the Customs of *Norway* and the *Sound*, into their Hands for Security. Upon this the Envoy told him, that he had now a good Opportunity of taking his Revenge upon them by a Seizure of their Ships at *Bergben*, which amounted to several Millions. But the King answering that he was not

Several
Dutch
Ships re-
tire to
Bergben
in Nor-
way.

1664.

The Kings
of England
and Den-
mark at-
tempt to
seize
them.

The Pro-
ject mis-
carries.

But are
disappoint-
ed.

in a Condition to execute such a Design; the Envoy told him that he made no Doubt but that the King of *England* would lend him his Ships, provided he might be assured of half of the Spoil: To which the King of *Denmark* gave his Consent. The King of *England* was pleased with *Talbot's* Project, and sent immediately Orders to the Earl of *Sandwich* to set Sail and seize the *Dutch* Ships lying at *Bergben*. The Admiral readily obeyed, though he had received no Intimation of the Agreement between the two Kings.

To succeed in this Design, it was absolutely necessary to inform the Vice-roy of *Norway*, and the Governour of *Bergben* of it, that they might favour it by pretending to protect the *Dutch* Ships, the King of *Denmark* not caring to appear openly in it. Nor was it less necessary to acquaint the Earl of *Sandwich* with it, in order to prepare him against the Noise and Complaints of the Governour of *Bergben*, on account of the Attempt and Violence of the *English*. But several unlucky Accidents ruined this Affair. The Governour of *Bergben*, who was to have received Orders from the Vice-roy of *Norway*, was not acquainted in time. And *Talbot's* Express sent from *Copenhagen*, to the *English* Fleet, was taken by the *Dutch*. In fine, the Earl of *Sandwich* being informed that *Ruyter* was shortly expected, and being desirous to strike the Blow before his Arrival, detached the Squadron commanded by Sir *Thomas Tideman*, who fell upon the *Dutch* with great Resolution. But they had now had Time to put themselves in a Posture of Defence. On the other Hand, the Governour of *Bergben*, who had yet received no express Orders about the Affair, seeing this open Hostility, and observing that the Shot from the *English* damaged the Town, he fired upon the *English* Squadron from the Citadel. In a Word, this Squadron was almost entirely ruined, and obliged to return to the Fleet without having succeeded in the Attempt. The Day after, the 14th of *August*, Orders came to

be

the Governour of *Berghen*, but it was then too late. 1665.
It appears that the King was not pleased with the
Earl of *Sandwich's* Conduct, because instead of conti-
nuing him in the Command of the Fleet, he sent him
Ambassador to the Court of *Spain*.

Mean while, *Ruyter* arriving in *Holland* with a *Ruyter*
great many *English* Prizes, took the Oath to the *arrives in*
States as Vice-Admiral-General, and then went to *Holland*.
take the Command of the Fleet consisting of Ninety-
three good Ships. But though he bore the Title of *Puts to*
Admiral, three Commissioners attended him, that is *Sea*.
to say, *De Wit* the *Pensioner*, *Huygens*, and *Borreel*,
who had, properly speaking, the Command. The
Design of these Commissioners was to meet the *India*
Fleet, which was to Sail round by *Ireland*, to avoid
coming into *the Channel*. But the Wind was so con-
trary, that the Fleet could not have got soon enough
out of the *Fexel*, if the *Pensioner*, who understood Sea
Affairs very well, had not by sounding it himself all
over very carefully, found more Ways to get out by
different Winds, than was thought formerly practi-
cable. So the Fleet at last sailed out, and appeared
before *Berghen*, where the Commissioners gave their
Orders for convoying the Merchant-men which were
in that Port. But it was not in their Power to pre-
vent a Storm, which dispersed them, and threw twen-
ty of them into the Hands of the *English*. This
Storm obliged *Ruyter* and the Commissioners to re-
turn back to *Holland*, with their Fleet very much
shattered.

While these Affairs were transacting Abroad, the *A great*
Plague committed terrible Ravages in *London*, where *Plague in*
it had broke out in the Month of *May*. It is said, *London*.
that in less than a Year, it swept away, in that single
City, more than a Hundred Thousand Souls. The
King had from the first withdrawn to *Hampton-*
Court; but afterwards, to be at a greater distance
from *London*, he went to reside at *Salisbury*.

It appears, that this Year, the *Republicans* had *Design of*
formed a Design for an Insurrection, and were even *the Re-*
encouraged *publicans*.

1665. encouraged by Emissaries from the *States-General*, who would not have been sorry to see the King embroiled with Domestick Troubles. But this was only a bare Project, which had no other Effect than to give the Enemies of the *Non-Conformists* a Handle to magnify the Danger with which the Kingdom was threatened from the Enemies of the Church of England in general, and consequently to bring in the *Presbyterians*, who had no Hand in the Designs of the *Republicans*.

Made a
Handle to
injure the
Presbyterians

The Bishop
of Munster falls
upon the
Dutch.

It was not only against England that the *States-General* had to defend themselves. Charles had brought another Enemy upon their Backs, who gave them no less Trouble. This was the famous *Bernard Van Ghalen* Bishop of *Munster*, who, upon very slight Pretences, entered the Province of *Overysse* at the Head of an Army paid by the *English*. He made himself Master of a great many small Places, and then attempted to surprise *Groningen*, but was repulsed. At last, before the end of the Campaign, the King of France, and the Dukes of *Lunenburgh* having sent a powerful Assistance to the *States*, the Bishop saw himself obliged to quit his great Projects, and think of a Peace, and the rather, because the Money promised by the King of England was by no Means regularly paid.

The Parliament
meets at
Oxford.

The King's
Speech.

The Parliament, which had been prorogued to the 7th of *October*, met on the Day appointed; but the meeting was at *Oxford*, on account of the Plague which still made great Havock in *London*, but did not much infest other Parts of the Kingdom. In his Speech to both Houses, the King let them know that the Supply of the two Millions five Hundred Thousand Pounds granted him towards the Maintenance of the War, was upon the Matter already spent. He insisted particularly upon the great Sums paid to the Bishop of *Munster*, for the Diversion which he gave to the Forces of the *States*, though it appears from *Sir William Temple's* Letters, that these Sums were never well paid.

After

After the King had done speaking, the Chancellor by his Order enlarged upon the same Subject, to signify to the *Commons* that they could not excuse themselves from putting the King in a Condition to prosecute a War at once so glorious and necessary. Afterwards he spoke to the Design formed by the *Republicans*, for the Subversion of the Government. But in aggravating with great Heat and Eloquence the Endeavours used by these Men, he took particular Care not to distinguish them from the other Sects of *Non-Conformists*. It was a standing Artifice, as I before observed, to apply to the *Presbyterians*, under the Denomination of *Non-Conformists*, all the Actions and Extravagances of the *Independents*, *Anabaptists*, and *Republicans* in general.

In a very few Days the *Commons* voted the King a new Supply of Twelve Hundred Thousand Pounds to continue the War, and one Hundred Twenty Thousand Pounds to the Duke of York, for the great Service he had done to the Nation,

After this, was brought into the House a Bill, which passed without any difficulty. This Bill contained in Substance, "That no *Non-Conformist* Teacher, under what Denomination soever, shall dwell, or come, unless upon the Road, within five Miles of any *Corporation*, or any other Place where they had been Ministers, or had preached, after the *Act of Oblivion*, unless they first took the following Oath." I do swear that it is not lawful upon any Pretence whatsoever to take Arms against the King; and that I do abhor the traitorous Position of taking Arms by his Authority against his Person, or against those that are commissioned by him, in pursuance of such Commissions; and that I will not at any Time endeavour any Alteration of Government either in Church or State *.

* The Penalty was Forty Pounds, and Six Months Imprisonment, unless they took the said Oath before their Commitment. This Act was called the *Five-Mile-Act*.

1665.

The Reason alledged in the Act to justify this Severity was, that the Ministers had settled themselves in the *Corporations* to the Number of three or four in a Place, and took Opportunities to infill into the Minds of the Subjects, their poysonous Principles of Schism and Rebellion, to the great Danger of the Church and Kingdom,

*Reasons
urged a-
gainst it.*

This *Bill* met with great Opposition in the House of Lords, even from the Earl of *Southampton* Lord High-Treasurer, and intimate Friend of the Earl of *Clarendon*, chief Contriver of the Persecution against the *Non-Conformists*: Indeed, the Oath required to be taken by the *Non-conforming* Ministers went upon a Supposition, which was not generally allowed; and this was, that every good Subject and good Christian, was obliged in Conscience to believe what was contained in this Oath, otherwise it was absurd to impose it upon the Ministers. For there is a wide Difference betwixt enjoyning a certain Practice, and obliging one Part of the Subjects to swear that they believe it to be founded in Religion and Conscience, while the rest are left free, either to believe or not believe it. Wherefore the *Commons*, being aware of the force of this Objection, prepared a *Bill* to oblige all the Subjects to take the same Oath. But the *Bill* was thrown out, though only by two or three Voices. At last, notwithstanding all Difficulties the *Act* just now mentioned, called the *Five-Mile-Act*, passed in the House of Lords, and the King gave it the Royal Assent the 31st of *October*, and at the same Time to the *Money-Bill* and some others, after which he prorogued the Parliament to the 20th of *February* 1665-6.

It passes.

*The Parli-
ament pro-
rogued.*

*Reasons
alledged to
justify the
Five-Mile-
Act.*

Several Writers have taken Pains to justify the Rigour of the *Five-Mile-Act*, and the Substance of what they have said amounts to this — That the Rigour was occasioned more by the seditious Behaviour of the *Non-Conformists*, than by the Exercise of their Religion. By this Reasoning the Ambiguity of the Word *Non-Conformist* is ever retained, as all the *Sects* included in this Denomination form

only

only one and the same Body, united by the same common Doctrines and Interests, which is notoriously false. The *Presbyterians* alone were considerably more numerous than all the other *Non-Conformists* put together, and they had Doctrines and Interests really separate from those of the other *Seets*. They could not be, nor were they, accused of having any Hand in the Conspiracies, real or pretended, of the *Independents* and *Anabaptists* since the King's Restoration, who had even given them a positive Assurance that they should not be molested for their Religion, in Consideration of the great Services they had done him. Nevertheless, because their Enemies had the Address to include them in the general Denomination of *Non-Conformists*, they were to have their share in the Punishment due to the other *Seets*, with whom they had no manner of Concern or Interest. Wherefore the Reader may judge whether their Religion drew no part of this Severity upon them. In short, the sole *Ambiguity* of the Word *Non-Conformist* served to refute the Objections and just Complaints of the *Presbyterians*.

This same Year the Council of *Scotland* discovered no less Heat and Animosity against the *Presbyterians*, on Pretence of some Insolence committed by a private Minister named *Alexander Smith*; a Proclamation was published the 24th of *December*, ordering that all the silenced *Presbyterian* Ministers should, within forty Days, remove themselves and their Families from the Places where they had been Ministers, and that they should not reside within twenty Miles of the same, or within six Miles of *Edinburgh*, or any *Cathedral Church*, nor within three Miles of any Royal Borough, nor should be more than two together in the same Parish, on Pain of incurring the Penalties of the Law against Movers of Sedition. I own, that I see no other Difference betwixt sentencing Men to Death, and putting them out of a Capacity to live, but this, that the latter Punishment gives to those who inflict it a more exquisite Vengeance. But this

*Extreme
Rigour
shewn so
the Pres-
byterians
in Scot-
land.*

1665. this Rigour will appear the more extreme, if it is considered that the *Presbyterians* made, properly speaking, the Body of the *Scotch Nation*.

1665-6. In the Beginning of the Year 1666, the King
France declares War against England. found his Affairs in an ill Situation. The King of *France*, pressed by the repeated Instances of the *States-General*, recalled his Ambassadors out of *England*, and published the 19th of *January* a Declaration of War against *England*. This was not owing to his Belief that the Affairs of the *States* were reduced to Extremities, (for the Sequel shewed that they could defend themselves without his Assistance) but to a Regard for the *Pensioner*, who being entirely attached to his Interest, could no longer support himself without this Declaration, which, as will afterwards appear, brought no great Prejudice to *England*.

The King of Denmark joins with the States.

On the other Hand, the *States* found Means to draw the King of *Denmark* into their Interest, by an Engagement to pay him yearly, during the continuance of the War, fifteen Hundred Thousand *Florins*, three Hundred Thousand of which were to be paid by the King of *France*. For this he was willing to keep a Fleet of thirty Men of War for the Service of the Allies.

The Bishop of Munster makes a Peace with the States.

The *States* likewise raised so many Enemies to the Bishop of *Munster*, that he was under a Necessity to make Peace and disband his Forces. This Peace was concluded at *Cleve* and signed the 18th of *April*.

1666.
The King of France not forward to succour the States.

The Naval War opened the Year 1666, with all these Disadvantages to *England*. If the King of *France* had acted with all the Sincerity the *States* thought they had room to expect from him, in all likelihood the *English* Fleet durst not have put to Sea to run the Hazard of fighting with such Inequality against united Fleets of *France* and *Holland*. But I have already said, that *Lewis XIV* only declared War against *England* to save Mr. *De Wit*, who was just sinking, as appears from several Letters of the Count d' Estrad.

d'Eftrades. The Pensioner being secure by this Declaration, it was not difficult for the King of France to find Pretences for retarding the Succours he had promised to the States. His Declaration, as I said, was published the 19th of January. But the Fleet which he promised should join with that of the States was in the Mediterranean, under the Command of the Duke of Beaufort, who by Accidents, real or pretended, came not to Belle-Isle till the latter End of September.

On the other Hand, the King of Denmark without joining his Fleet to that of the States, contented himself with guarding his own Coasts, so that this Year, as well as the last, the War by Sea was carried on between England and the States alone.

The King returning to London the 1st of February, War proclaimed against France.

A few Days before the Queen had a Miscarriage, which quashed entirely the common Report that she was incapable of having Children.

The Command of the English Fleet was given to Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle. They repaired to it the 23d of April, but it was not in a Condition to put to Sea till the latter End of May. It consisted of Seventy-eight Ships of the Line, besides Frigates and Fireships. In all Appearance the King was till then ignorant of the secret Intentions of the King of France. But he knew the Duke of Beaufort had Orders to repair to Belle-Isle with his Fleet, said to consist of Thirty-six Sail, that he might be at Hand to join the Dutch Fleet in the Channel. This was the Reason that he dispatched express Orders to Prince Rupert to Sail with Twenty great Ships, and join with Ten more at Plymouth, in order to go in quest of and fight the Duke of Beaufort, to which the Prince payed a ready Obedience. It cannot well be denied that this Order was sent with too much Precipitation, and before the Matter was maturely weighed. For besides that the English Fleet might, without any Danger, have waited for that of France,

War proclaimed against France, The Queen miscarries. Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle command the English Fleet.

Prince Rupert rashly ordered to find and fight the French Fleet.

1666.

Disad-
vantage
to the
Dutch.

Evertzen engaged the *Red* and *White* Squadrons, *Tromp* after a long Dispute dispersed the *Blue* Squadron commanded by Sir *Jeremy Smith*. But by an unpardonable Fault, instead of keeping close to the Fleet, he amused himself with pursuing the flying Ships of the Enemy. On the other Hand, young *Evertzen*, who commanded one of the *Dutch* Squadrons, was killed with a Cannon-Ball, and his Squadron entirely defeated. But the *English* Admiral who fought against him, was not guilty of the Error committed by *Tromp*; instead of pursuing the flying Enemy, he joined the *Red* Squadron commanded by Prince *Rupert* and the Duke of *Albemarle*, and these two Squadrons poured upon *Ruyter*, who nevertheless, by favour of the Night, found means to disengage himself from them. But the Day following he was obliged to sustain the Fight alone against these two Squadrons, there being no News of *Tromp*. He never in his Life shewed so much Bravery and Capacity as in this second Engagement. He sustained singly with his own Squadron the whole Shock of the two Squadrons of the Enemy, and at last made a Retreat with such amazing Conduct, that his Glory was more raised by it than if he had gained the Victory. The *English* leaving the Pursuit in sight of *Flushing*, went after *Tromp*, who though he was found by them almost off *Harwich*, yet he recovered the *Texel* without any Loss. *Ruyter* on his Return loudly complained of *Tromp's* Conduct, and to satisfy him, the *States* put *Tromp* under an Arrest, dismissed him from his Post, and put Mr. *Van Ghent* in his Place.

Ruyter's
brave Re-
sist.

Tromp
turned out
of his Post.

The French
Fleet ar-
rives at
Rochelle.
The En-
glish make
a Descent
upon Hol-
land with
great Da-
mage to
the Dutch.

At or near the same Time that these Engagements happened between the *Dutch* and *English*, the Duke of *Beaufort* arrived with his Fleet at *Rochelle*, where he stayed some Time to take in fresh Water, of which he stood in great Need.

As in the last Engagement the *Dutch* Fleet had been dispersed, part having retired to *Flushing*, a part to the *Texel*, the Duke of *Albemarle* finding hi

1666.

self Master of the Sea, detached Twenty Men of War to insult the Coasts of *Holland*. *Holms* coming into the Road of the Isle of *Vlye*, burnt there a Hundred Sail of Merchant-Men, and Two Men of War designed for Convoys. Afterwards he advanced to the Isle of *Schelling*, and making a Descent, burnt several Houses in the small Town of *Brandaris*. His Design was to make Advantage of a Treason carrying on in this Isle by one *Hemskirk*, for which a French Gentleman called *Buat*, who secretly corresponded with the *English*, had his Head struck off at the *Hague*. But *Holms* not finding Things in the Readiness he expected, returned back to the Fleet.

After this Expedition the *English* Fleet sailed into the Channel, and anchored at *St. Hellen's*, the Isle of *Wight* being the most proper Station for hindering the Conjunction of the French and Dutch Fleets. *Ruyter* on his Side posted himself in *St. John's Bay*, near *Boulogne*, where a Distemper seized him, which for some Time was believed to be mortal. This obliged the States to recal the Fleet, of which they gave Notice to the King of *France*.

In the mean Time the Duke of *Beaufort* knowing Nothing of the Retreat of the Dutch Fleet, had left *Belle-Isle*, where he had arrived about the 20th of September, and entring the Channel safely sailed by the Isle of *Wight* without being attacked, and got into the Road of *Diepe*. He stayed there a whole Day without hearing any News of *Ruyter*. At last, being informed that the Dutch Fleet was retired, he sailed once more by the Isle of *Wight*, without meeting with any Opposition, and got into the Ports of *Bretagne*. It is very surprizing that the *English*, who were posted at the Isle of *Wight* to prevent the Junction of the two Fleets of *France* and *Holland*, should suffer that of *France* to pass and repass without any Molestation. This may afford room to suspect that there was some Intelligence between *France* and *England*. But as I find no sufficient Light into this Affair, I shall take no farther Notice of it. But

1666.

again, as I have said, ascribed this Misfortune to the Malice of the *Republicans*: Others to the *Papists*. And there were some so bold, as to raise their Suspicions even to the King and the Duke of *York*. But though several suspected Persons were taken up on this Account, it was never possible to discover or prove that the Baker's House, where this dreadful Calamity first broke out, was fired on Purpose. Nevertheless, a *French Huguenot*, Native of *Roan*, and a Lunatick, having owned himself guilty of this horrible Action, was condemned and executed. But it appeared afterwards by the Testimony of the Master of the Ship who brought him out of *France*, that though he was landed at the Time of the Fire, yet he did not arrive in *London* till two Days after it began. It is pretended likewise that a *Dutch Boy* Ten Years old had confessed that his Father and himself had thrown Fire-balls into the Baker's House through a Window that stood open. But besides the Objection which may be made to this Testimony from the Boy's Age, there must have been some Circumstance in his Narrative not agreeable to the Fact, since it was never thought proper to make a farther Enquiry. Perhaps this was a Report without Foundation.

But that which gives the greatest Encouragement for a Belief that this Fire did not happen casually, is the Testimony of Dr. *Lloyd* afterwards Bishop of *Worcester*. That Prelate told Dr. *Burnet* — “ That one *Grant* a Papist had sometime before applyed himself to the said *Lloyd*, who had great Credit with the Countess of *Clarendon* (Proprietor of a great Share in the Revenue, which rises from the New River) and said he could raise that Estate considerably, if she would make him a Trustee for her. His Schemes were probable, and he was made one of the Board that governed that Matter: And by that he had a Right to come as oft as pleased to view their Works at *Islington*. He went thither the *Saturday* before the Fire broke out, and called for the Key of the Place where

Extract
from Burnet's History
relating
to this
Fire,
P. 231.

H

1666.

“ Heads of the Pipes were, and turned all the *Cocks* that were then open, and stopped the Water, and went away, and carried the Keys with him. So when the Fire broke out next Morning, they opened the Pipes in the Streets to find Water, but there was none. And some Hours were lost in sending to *Islington*, where the Door was to be broke open and the Cocks turned; and it was long before the Water got to *London*. *Grant* indeed denied that he had turned the *Cocks*. But the Officer of the Works affirmed that he had, according to Order, set them all a running, and that no Person had got the Keys from him besides *Grant*; who confessed he had carried away the Keys, but pretended he did it without Design. ”

This is the Account delivered by Doctor *Burnet* in his History, and agrees in the main with that of Mr. *Echard*, in his History of *England*. Nevertheless an anonymous Author who has written against Dr. *Burnet*'s History, accuses him of Falsehood, and asserts, that *Grants* was not received amongst the Directors till after the Fire. But it is not easy to decide what regard is due to the Testimony of this anonymous Writer, whereas one cannot avoid giving Credit to that of this illustrious Prelate, when he says, he had it from Doctor *Lloyd*, that *Grant* was one of the Directors before the Fire, and that this Account of it came from that Bishop. However it be, this great Fire was generally laid to the Charge of the *Papists*, and the more so, because so many other Things afterwards concurred to confirm this Suspicion.

The Parliament meeting the 21st of *September*, the King in a Speech to both Houses, assured them that the Money granted for carrying on the War had proved deficient, as he had two such puissant Enemies to cope with. He magnified the happy Success with which it had pleased God to bless his Arms, and would have it understood, as if his Fleet had been always victorious. Immediately after the *Commons*,

*The King's
Speech to
the Par-
liament.*

1666. this Affair, nor the Money-Bill could be finished before the Conclusion of the Year.

1666-7. The Parliament met the 2d of *January*, after a short Adjournment, and immediately the *Commons* accused the Lord *Mordant*, at the Bar of the Lords House, and then preferred their Articles against him. But they were disgusted that the accused Person was suffered to take his Place amongst the Peers, whilst his Accusation was reading. This occasioned a Dispute between the two Houses. There were still another Quarrel depending between the Houses, on Occasion of an Oath imposed by the *Commons* on the Commissioners appointed by them to levy the *Poll-Tax*, which the Lords looked on as a Breach of their Privilege. This was the Subject of divers and fruitless Conferences.

Captation Act. The King came to the Parliament the 18th of *January*, and gave the Royal Assent to the *Poll-Bill*, but he complained of the Nomination of Commissioners, as it was a Mark of the little Confidence they had in him.

The Parliament prorogued. The Misunderstanding between the two Houses still continuing, the King came to the Parliament the 18th of *February*, and after his Consent given to several Acts, he promised positively that the Money granted him should be wholly applied to the Use it was intended for. Then he prorogued the Parliament to the 10th of *October*. The *Acts* passed now were ;

Money-Act. An *Act* to continue for eleven Months the Monthly Assessment of 70000 *l.* in an Opinion that this Sum joined to the *Poll-Tax*, would be sufficient to make up the eighteen Hundred Thousand Pounds, which had been granted to the King. The other *Acts* related principally to the rebuilding that part of the City demolished by Fire, which was finished with more Expedition than could be expected, and in a Manner more beautiful and regular than before the Fire.

Act for rebuilding London.

It is now Time to speak of the Peace between *England* and *Holland*, which was actually, though secretly, negotiated at the Time that the Parliament granted eighteen Hundred Thousand Pounds to enable the King to prosecute the War. In the Month of *November* 1665, before the King of *France* had declared against *England*, the *States*, for a Foundation of Peace, had offered to the King one of these two Conditions, either that each of the Parties should restore to the other, what had been taken, or both keep what they were in actual Possession of. This was a sure Method to obviate all Difficulties which might occur in a Negotiation of Peace. Besides the last of these Conditions was very Advantageous for *England*, which had taken a great Number of Ships from the *Dutch* before the War was even proclaimed. This Offer was again renewed at *Paris* about the Middle of the Year 1666, in a Conference held there betwixt Mr. *de Lyonne*, the Lord *Hollis* Ambassador from *England*, and Mr. *Van Beuninghen* Envoy from the *States*. Probably *Charles* expected greater Advantages from the Continuance of the War, since he returned no Answer to this Offer. He only complained of the Obscurity of it, without signifying where the Obscurity lay. Nevertheless he received this Advantage from it, that he knew how the *States* stood affected, and what he might rely on : So that it was in his Breast to make Peace whenever he should think it for his Interest. The 17th of *November* the same Year the *States* renewed the same Offer in a Letter to the King. But as this was at the Time that the Parliament was going to sit, and that the King hoped for a large Supply from it, he did not think fit to embrace the Offer. He contented himself with signifying to the *States* in a Letter of the 4th of *October*, his Dissatisfaction at their Proceedings, and at the Calumnies they had raised against him, in accusing him as the Aggressor, and as having rejected all Proposals for Peace. He then entered into a large Detail to justify himself from the Allegations of the *States* against

1665-7.
Steps taken
by the
States to-
wards a
Peace.

1667.

Lord Hollis, and Mr. Henry Coventry *. From France came the Count d'Estrades, and Mr. Courtin; from Denmark, Mess. Klingenberg and Canisius, and from the States General, Mess. Beverninch, Hubert, and Tongstal. The Mediators from the King of Sweden were, Mess. Fleming and Coyet. But the last dying at Breda, the Count de Dbona, the Swedish Ambassador to the States, took his Place.

The Conference prolonged by a Misunderstanding.

From the first Opening of the Congress a Mistake was discovered which was obvious to every Body, but which in all Appearance had been winked at by the two Parties in the fear of throwing some Obstacle in the way to the Conclusion of the Congress. In the Letter written to the King of England by the States, the 17th of the last September, they had offered two Expedients towards a Peace, the second of which was that each should keep what he had taken, or was in Possession of *before or after the Beginning of the War*. This was what the States had kept to ever since, without any Variation. But the King in a Letter to the States, dated the 24th of April 1667, had these Words—"We take this Opportunity to declare " to you that we accept the Choice which has been " proposed to us, that is to say, that each Party shall " keep whatsoever he has taken *during this War*, " *which being granted, we shall Order our Ambassadors " to proceed in the present Treaty, upon the Foundation " of that made betwixt us in the Year 1662.*"

It is manifest that in the second Offer proposed by the States, was comprehended all that had been acquired by either Party, not only during this War, but moreover before the War, and that in the King's Letter was comprehended only what had been taken during the War. But the King agreeably to the Terms of his Acceptation, pretended that the States should make him Reparation for the two Ships, called the *Good Hope*, and the *Bon-Adventure*, which had been taken, or sunk before the Treaty of 1662. More

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* Of the King's Bed-Chamber.

1667.

over he pretended that as the *States* were obliged by the same Treaty to restore to him the Isle of *Poloron* in the *East-Indies*, and as that Isle was still in their Possession, it should be delivered up to him. These two Articles were the principal Matters in Debate in the Conferences of *Breda*, and retarded the Conclusion of the Treaty, to the great Prejudice of the *English* as will be seen afterwards. The *States* kept to the Terms of their Offer, and the King to those of his Acceptation.

I have already taken notice of the two Ships taken by the *Dutch* in the Interval between the two Treaties of the Year 1659, and 1662. As for the Isle of *Poloron*, the *States* pretended that they had made Restitution in form, and produced an Acknowledgement under the Hand of the *English* Officer, to whom it had been surrendered. But before this Surrender they had entirely dispeopled it, and cut down all the *Clove-Trees*, and in short, they had seized it again since the Beginning of this last War. But the King pretended to find material Faults in the Form of the Restitution, and insisted that the *States* were obliged to restore it by the Terms of the Treaty of 1662. The Importance of this *Isle* was, that in four or five Years it might be new stocked with *Clove-Trees* if it was in the Hands of the *English*, and so prove prejudicial to the *Dutch*, who were Masters of that whole Spice-Trade.

To decide these two Articles from which both Parties made it a Point of Honour not to recede, Couriers were to be sent several times to *London* and the *Hague*, and those from *London* brought only more strict Orders to the Ambassadors to insist upon the two Ships, and the Isle of *Poloron*. But at length the King gave up the last Point, so that the whole Negotiation was reduced to the Satisfaction he demanded for the Loss of the two Ships. It is not at all surprizing that the King would not depart from this Article. He had begun the War upon the specious Pretence of having Reparation made

A Difficulty relating to the Isle of Poloron.

Both Parties intractable. The King recedes from his Demand of Poloron.

1667.

made for all the Damages done to his Subjects, which he computed at Seven or Eight Hundred Thousand Pounds *Sterling*. To enable him to obtain this Reparation, the Parliament had furnished him with Five Hundred and Fifty Five Thousand Pounds. He had besides taken Sixscore Ships, before the War was declared, and more than Four-score since. In all appearance he had not applied the Product of these Captures to the Benefit of his Subjects, who, he pretended, had lost Seven or Eight Hundred Thousand Pounds, and for whom the War was undertaken. He could not therefore by any Means excuse himself from procuring to the Merchants, who had lost these Two Vessels, the Satisfaction demanded by them, without having ground to believe that this War had been taken in Hand on imaginary Pretensions. For in effect, only the Pretensions with regard to these two Ships are clearly explained. All the rest consisted only in *generals*, the Discussion whereof was not at all necessary, by reason of the Choice proposed by the *States*. It was not that they feared a Discussion, because they had offered that in the first of the proposed Conditions. But the King had an Interest to avoid it, and accept the second Condition. If he had closed with it, in the same Terms it was offered by the *States*, the Causes of the War, which had been so expensive to *England*, would never have been understood. He could not therefore in Honour help insisting upon this Article, which alone was to be considered as the principal Cause of the War, though it did not amount to Ten Thousand Pounds *Sterling*. However, as the Offer made him by the *States* let him see that Peace was in his own Power, when he should think proper to conclude it, he thought it was but a needless Expence to put to Sea a powerful Fleet, as he had done the two foregoing Years, and that it would turn to better Account to save the greater Part of the Money granted for the continuance of the War. With this View, relying on the Certainty

*Sends no
Fleet out.*

1667,

of the Peace, he put all his great Ships out of Commission, and kept only a Squadron of about Twenty Sail, while the *States* continued their Preparations as usual, in the Uncertainty they were under, whether the King was hearty in his Desire of Peace.

In the mean Time, the *States* seeing what Difficulties the King formed upon an Article of so little Consequence, believed, or pretended to believe, that he had no Mind to make Peace. They therefore resolved either to force him to drop his Pretensions, or to continue the War this Summer with Advantage, because they knew that the King would have no Fleet at Sea.

Pursuant to this Resolution, *Ruyter* sailed out of the *Texel*, and came the 8th of *June* into the Mouth of the *Thames*, from whence he dispatched Vice-Admiral *Van Ghent* with Seventeen of his lightest Ships, and some Fire-Ships. *The Dutch came into the Mouth of the Thames.*

Van Ghent the 10th of *June* sailed up the *Medway*, made himself Master of the Fort of *Sheerness*; and after he had burnt the Magazine full of Stores, to the Value of Forty Thousand Pounds, blew up the Fortifications. This gave an Alarm to the City of *London*: So that to prevent farther Mischief, some Ships were sunk, and a large Chain thrown across the River in the narrowest Part of it. But by favour of an Easterly Wind, and a strong Tide, the *Dutch* Ships broke the Chain, and sailed between the sunk Vessels. They immediately burnt three large Ships called the *Matthias*, the *Unity*, and the *Charles the Fifth*, all taken from them in this present War, and carried along with them the Hull of the Royal *Charles*, besides burning and damaging several others. *Burn several Ships.*

After this they advanced as far as *Chatham* and *Upnore-Castle*, and burnt the *Royal Oak*, the *Loyal London*, and the *Great James*. The *English* fearing that the *Dutch* Fleet would sail up to *London-Bridge*, with all possible haste sunk Ships at *Woolwich* and *Blackwall*, and planted Great Guns on the Banks of the River. The Consternation was very great, *sail up as far as Chatham.*

1667. great, nor less the Complaints. It was said openly, that the King out of pure Avarice had kept the Money so generously given him to continue the War, and left his Ships and his Subjects to the Insults of the Enemy, though he had exclaimed against the Injustice done him in believing him capable of such an Action. The King found himself under great Perplexities, as well from his Fears of greater Damage from the *Dutch Fleet*, as from the Mortification given him by this Affair, and the Shame of having nothing to say against the Complaints of his People. Besides, he could not but reproach himself with being the Occasion of this Insult, by insisting too long upon an Affair of Ten Thousand Pounds Value, and so retarding the Conclusion of the Peace.

*The King
in great
Perplexity.*

*Other Ex-
plains of
Ruyter.*

After this Exploit *Ruyter* setting Sail, went and made an Attempt to burn the Ships in *Portsmouth-Harbour*: But finding them secure, he sailed away to the *West*, and took some Ships in *Torbay*. He then sailed *Eastward*, beat the *English* before *Harwich*, and gave Chace to a Squadron commanded by *Sir Edward Spragg*, who was obliged to retire up the *Thames*. In a Word, he kept the Coasts of *England* in continual Alarms the whole Month of *July*, till he received the News of the Conclusion of a Peace.

*The Peace
concluded
at Breda.*

This Event had given such a Turn to Affairs, that it was no longer time for the *English* Ambassadors at the *Hague* to stand upon Punctilio's. Accordingly they very calmly gave up the Article of the two Ships. But this was to be understood with the good liking of the King, who was to confirm what they had done before the Treaty was signed. For this Purpose *Mr. Coventry*, after having come to an Agreement with the Ambassadors of the Allies, went for *England* the 2d of *July*, and returned the 14th with the King's Approbation, and the 21st the Treaty of Peace was signed. Nevertheless three separate Treaties were made, on account of some inconveniencies which would have arisen had there been

ly

only one. But by a Writing signed by all the Plenipotentiaries it was declared, that the three Treaties should be esteemed only as one and the same.

The most important Articles of the Treaty between *England* and *France* were these:

VII. The most Christian King shall restore to the King of *Great-Britain* that Part of the Isle of St. *Christophers*, which the *French* have taken from the *English* since the Declaration of the War. *Articles of the Peace with France.*

X. The King of *Great-Britain* shall restore to the most Christian King the Country of *Acadia*, in *North America*, some time in Possession of the said most Christian King.

XI. The most Christian King shall restore to the King of *Great-Britain* the Isles of *Antego* and *Montserrat*, if they are still in his Possession, and in general all the Territories, Isles, Towns, and Fortresses which may have been conquered by his Arms, and which belonged to the King of *England* before the War began against the *States-General*; and Reciprocally the King of *Great-Britain* shall restore the Territories, Isles, Towns, &c.

XVII. This Article contained a Regulation of all the Captures, which might be made since the Conclusion of the Peace.

XVIII. In case of a War it is stipulated that six Months Notice shall be given to Merchants to withdraw their Effects.

Chief Articles of the Treaty between Great-Britain and the States-General.

Article III. Both Sides shall forget and forgive all Offences, Damages, and Losses, which either have suffered during this War, or at any time before, or under any Pretence, as if they had never happened — Each Party shall hold for Time to come in full Right of Sovereignty, Propriety, and Possession, all such Countries, Isles, Towns, Forts, Places, and Colonies,

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as, whether during this War or before, have been taken and kept from the other by Force of Arms, and in what other Manner soever, and that as they possessed and enjoyed them the 10th Day of *May* last.

IV. All Ships, Goods, and Moveables, which at any Time have come into the Power of either Party, shall remain in the present Possession thereof, without any Compensation or Restitution for the same.

V. All Actions, Demands, and Pretensions whatsoever for the same shall remain void, obliterated, and disannulled, &c.

XV. The said Lord the King, and the said Lords the *States*, shall not receive into their Dominions any such Persons as shall be declared fugitive Rebels, of either the one or the other.

XIX. All Ships and Vessels of the *United-Provinces*, as well Men of War as Merchant-Ships, and others, which shall meet in the *Britannick-Seas* any Ships of War belonging to the King of *Great-Britain*, shall strike the Flag, and lower the Sail as it has formerly been practised.

XXXII. If the former Differences shall be renewed, and turned into an open War, the Ships, Merchandize, and all moveable Effects of both Parties, which shall be found in the Sea-Ports and Dominions of the adverse Party, shall be by no Means confiscated or damaged; but there shall be granted to the Subjects of both Parties the Term of six whole Months, during which Time they may transport the said Effects where they please.

XXXVI. For the greater Assurance that the present Treaty shall be observed with good Faith on the Part of the *States-General*, they engage themselves by these Presents, that those Persons who shall be chosen by the said *States-General*, or the particular Provinces, into the Offices of *Captain-General*, *Stadtholder*, *Field-Marshal*, *Admiral*, shall swear that they will observe, and cause to be observed Religiously this Treaty.

By a separate Article it was agreed, That if any of the Murderers of *Charles I.*, should be found in the Dominions of the *States-General*, they should be delivered up to the King, &c.

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If we consider now what were the Advantages *Eng-* *Reflections*
land received from a War begun upon such slight *upon this*
Foundations, and carried on with such Animosity, it *Peace.*
will not be easy to discover so much as one that was not really contained in the Treaty of the 4th of *September* 1662. But on the contrary, it will be found that this War stood *England* in Five Hundred and Fifty Thousand Pounds *Sterling*, besides the Loss of Ships of War, whether in Sea-Engagements, or in the Affair of *Ghatbam*. Nevertheless the King had assured the Parliament, in one of his Speeches, that he could never lay down his Arms till he had procured for his Subjects a reasonable Satisfaction for their Losses, which, upon his Computation, amounted to Seven or Eight Hundred Thousand Pounds. Now if these Losses were real, this Peace was so much the more dishonourable for the King and *English* Nation. But on the other Hand, it is easy to perceive that the King and Duke of *York* reaped considerable Advantages by it. The King by the large Supplies of Money granted for this War, and by no Means applied to it (especially the Eighteen Hundred Thousand Pounds granted in *January* and *February* this Year) and by the Sale of Ships taken from the *Dutch*: The Duke of *York* by his Claims upon these Captures as Lord-High-Admiral, and by the Present of One Hundred Twenty Thousand Pounds made him by the Parliament. Such was the Conclusion of this great Armament, which was to humble the Pride of the *Dutch*, and render them forever incapable to carry on their Traffick, and dispute the Empire of the Seas with *England*. The Peace was proclaimed at *London* and at the *Hague* the 24th of *August*.

1667.
The King
of France
invades
the Ne-
therlands.

The King of *France*, as was seen, gave no very effectual Assistance to his Allies, since his Fleet never joyned that of the *States*, not even in this last Year of the War, when the *English* were in no Condition to oppose the Junction. He then had other Designs, which he discovered in the Month of *June*, by an Invasion of the *Netherlands*, on account of the Pretensions which the Queen his Wife had upon *Brabant*, after the Death of *Philip IV* her Father. In the whole Course of the War between the King of *England* and the *States-General*, he plainly enough shewed his Intention to make *Charles* his Friend, in which he succeeded but too well in the End. He would never have declared War against him, notwithstanding his strict Engagements with the *States* in the Treaty of 1662, had he not believed that Declaration absolutely necessary to support Mr. *De Wit*, who, without it, was in great Hazard of forfeiting all his Authority. He earnestly longed to see this War ended, into which he had entered with great Reluctance. This appeared principally in the Conferences at *Breda*, where his Two Plenipotentiaries performed properly the Office of Mediators, though those of *Sweden* had the Name. Wherefore he was vehemently suspected in *Holland* of carrying on a secret Correspondence with the King of *England*.

Com-
plaints a-
gainst the
Court.

Complaints and Murmurs against King *Charles* and his Ministers succeeded the Animosity with which the *Dutch* War was begun. When the Advantages received from this War were laid in the Balance against the Expence of it, they were found so little proportioned, that Men could not help thinking that the War had been undertaken from other Motives than the Benefit of *England*. The People had been perswaded that it was entered into only to procure Satisfaction to the Merchants for their Losses from the Rapine of the *Dutch*; an honourable Revenge for the many Affronts which they had put upon the *English* Nation; and a Reduction of their Power to such a Condition, that it should never more Rival that of *England*.

England; but nothing of this had been performed. The Merchants had received no Satisfaction even for the two Ships, the *Good Hope*, and the *Bon-Adventure*, though that Article was one of the clearest and best explained. The Nation, far from being revenged for the Affronts it had received, suffered one of the most real and mortifying that could be, in the Business of *Chatham*. Lastly, after the Peace of *Breda*, the *United-Provinces* found themselves in a more flourishing Condition than they had been in before the War, and looked on this Peace as a Triumph for them. On the other Hand, few People could digest the King's pressing the Parliament for a Supply of Money to carry on the War, and after having received Eighteen Hundred Thousand Pounds *Sterling* for that Purpose, his turning his Thoughts wholly to Peace, without putting himself in a Condition to obtain one upon any the least reasonable Terms. This was a Subject very apt to raise a Doubt of the Sincerity of his Intentions for the Good of his People. In short, it was more and more discovered that the *Papists* had a great Influence in the Court, and that the Proclamations published against them at the Desire of the Parliament, were far from being rigorously executed. The Earl of *Arlington*, the almost declared Protector of all the *Papists*, was made Secretary of State, and in great Favour, while the Earl of *Clarendon*, their Enemy, daily declined in Credit and Authority. This began to produce Suspicions little advantageous to the King. Besides, the licentious Life he led, did not help to keep up the high Opinion conceived of him in the Beginning of his Reign. His Court was the most Vicious that could be. His Mistresses ruled absolutely, and nothing was transacted but through their Means. They swallowed up his vast Revenues, and most of the extraordinary Supplies granted him by the Parliament; so that in the midst of Riches, he was always in Want, and forced to have Recourse to new Pretences for drawing Money.

*Suspicious
against the
King.*

*The Disorders of his
Court.*

1667. Money from his Parliament, to supply his private Occasions.

*The Chan-
cellor's
Disgrace.*

These Suspicions and Complaints coming to the Knowledge of the King, he resolved to lay them, by sacrificing the Earl of *Clarendon*, who had hitherto acted as Prime-Minister. He well knew that the People are always excessively pleased with such Sacrifices, and especially of Ministers who have enjoyed the greatest Credit, and who generally are charged with all the Misfortunes that befall a Nation. But this was only a Pretext made use of by the King to get rid of a Minister whom he no longer loved, and whose Presence and Counsels were become insupportable to him. The Chancellor's regular Life, his Aversion to all Debauch and Libertinism, his grave and severe Manners, his Neglect of the King's Favourites and Mistresses, and lastly, his Principles and Maxims with regard to Religion and the State, were but little agreeable to the disorderly Lives of the whole Court, and still less to the Projects formed in favour of the *Papists*, under Colour of easing the *Presbyterians*. On account of this, and his rough and always too haughty Behaviour, he had rendered himself odious to all the Courtiers, who were indefatigable in doing him ill Offices, especially when they saw him in the Decline of his Favour. He had often taken the Liberty to reproach the King with the Disorders of his Life, and at first his Reproaches were well received. But after the King had entirely abandoned himself to his Pleasures, he could no longer bear the Presence of a Man whose Advice he had formerly listened to with a sort of Submission. The Duke of *Buckingham* and some others laying hold on this Disposition of the King, neglected nothing to encourage and cherish it. As soon as they saw the Chancellor coming, they would say to his Majesty, *Here comes your School-Master!* At other Times they turned his Behaviour into Ridicule in the Presence of the King. The Duke of *Buckingham* used to walk in a stately manner with a Pair of *Bellows* before him

to mimick the Chancellor with the *Purse*, whilst Colonel *Titus* carried a *Fire-Shovel* on his Shoulder for the *Mace*. The King suffered these Buffooneries, and discovered by that his Disgust to his Minister. But as these are only Trifles, and as the King's Disgust turned at last into real Hatred, it is proper here to relate the more serious Causes which have been offered in Justification of the King's Resentment.

1. It is pretended that the King being desirous to make a Divorce with the Queen upon Allegations not well supported, could never obtain the Chancellor's Approbation, *Causes of his Fall.*

2. The King's Intention, after this Divorce was accomplished, was to marry Mrs. *Stuart* his Relation, of whom he was exceedingly amorous. The Earl of *Clarendon*, to frustrate this Matter, prevailed with the young Duke of *Richmond* to marry her, by representing how serviceable it would be to gain him the King's Favour. The Duke following the Advice made his Addresses to the Lady, who, knowing nothing of the King's Inclination, believed she ought not to refuse so good an Offer, and the Marriage was immediately concluded. The King was so vexed that he banished the new-married Pair from the Court, and never forgave the Chancellor the Trick he had played him.

3. Another, and as was generally thought the most apparent, Cause of the King's Dislike to the Chancellor, was his opposing *Popham's* Project of settling an annual Revenue of Two Millions of Pounds *Sterling* upon the King, which was seconded by the Earl of *Southampton*.

4. The most probable Cause of the Chancellor's ruin was, that the *Papists*, whose Counsels and Projects were listened to and approved by the King, offered nothing to destroy him, well knowing that under his Ministry they could never hope to succeed in their Designs.

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5. A stately House built by him near St. James's Park, and in the very Year of the Plague, did him great Injury in the Minds of the Populace. It was pretended that it cost him Fifty Thousand Pounds *Sterling*, though at first he designed only to lay out Fifteen or Sixteen Thousand. People gave it the Name of *Dunkirk-House*, because it was supposed that his Advice for the Sale of that Place had furnished him with the Means to raise it. He committed still another Errour, in purchasing for this House the Stones that were designed for building St. Paul's Church.

*Has the
Great-Seal
taken from
him.*

However these Things may be, the King, under colour of giving Satisfaction to his People in the Sacrifice of this Minister, deprived him of his Office of High-Chancellor, and made Sir Orlando Bridgeman Lord-Keeper of the Great-Seal.

*The Earl of
South-
ampton's
Death.*

The Earl of *Southampton* the Treasurer dying three Months before the Chancellor's Disgrace, the King saw himself at once deprived of two great and faithful Ministers, whose Loss was never repaired, at least with relation to their Morals, their Religion, and Affection for their Country. A little before this Earl's Death, some Person in Council speaking against the Chancellor, he with some Emotion said — *The Earl of Clarendon is a true Protestant, and an honest Englishman, and while he is in Place we are secure of our Laws, Liberties, and Religion; but, whenever he shall be removed, England will feel the ill Effects of it.* In this he proved a true Prophet.

After the Earl of *Southampton's* Death, the King put the Treasury into Commission. Among the Commissioners was Sir *Thomas Clifford* a *Papist*, and known for such by all the World *. And upon him afterwards fell the King's Choice for Lord High-Treasurer.

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* The rest of the Commissioners were, the Duke of *Albema*, the Lord *Ashley-Cooper*, Sir *William Coventry*, and Sir *John E...* *comb.* Sir *William Clifford* was then Comptroller of the House.

The Parliament meeting the 10th of *October*, the King spoke but little, and left it to the Lord-Keeper, to acquaint the two Houses with his Intentions. His Speech ran chiefly upon a sort of Excuse for the King, who, had contrary to Custom, after a Prorogation of the Parliament to the Month of *October*, ordered it by Proclamation to meet the 25th of *July*, and then by another Proclamation put off the new designed Session to the Time first appointed. He communicated to them the Conclusion of the Peace, and desired them to settle the Balance of Trade with *Scotland*. He said, that the King having named Commissioners to state the Publick Accounts, and to examine to what Uses the Money granted by the Parliament had been applied, and this Commission not having had the Success he had hoped from it, he left it to the Care of the Parliament to examine those who had been trusted with the Administration. He added, that some malicious Persons dispersed false Reports of the Government, with Design to create a Misunderstanding between the King and his Subjects: But that his Majesty promised himself from their Affection, that they would on the contrary use all Endeavours to preserve this precious Union: That if any Thing irregular had been acted, the King was ready to make Reparation. He therefore prayed them to imprint upon the Hearts of the Subjects that known Truth — *That there is no distinct Interest between the King and his People, but the Good of one is the Good of both.*

1667.
The Lord-
Keeper's
Speech to
both Hou-
ses.

The Ad-
dress of
both Hou-
ses to the
King.

Some Days after the two Houses presented an Address to the King to thank him for several Things:

1. That he had dismissed his new-raised Forces:
2. That he had removed the *Papists* from out of his Guards, and all military Employments:
3. That he had revoked a certain Patent*:
4. And more especially, That he had displaced the late Lord Chancellor, and removed him from the Exercise of publick

* The Canary-Patent.

1667.

“ X. That he held Correspondence with *Cromwell*
 “ and his Accomplices, when he was in Parts beyond
 “ the Seas, attending his Majesty, and thereby ad-
 “ hered to the King’s Enemies.

“ XI. That he advised and effected the Sale of
 “ *Dunkirk* to the *French* King, being Part of his
 “ Majesty’s Dominions; together with the Ammu-
 “ nition, Artillery, and all Sorts of Stores there, and
 “ for no greater Value than the said Ammunition,
 “ Artillery, and the Stores were worth.

“ XII. That the said Earl did unduly cause his
 “ Majesty’s *Letters-Patents*, under the Great-Seal of
 “ *England*, to one *Dr. Crowther*, to be altered, and
 “ the Enrolment thereof to be unduly rased.

“ XIII. That he hath in an arbitrary Way exa-
 “ mined and brought into Question divers of his Ma-
 “ jesty’s Subjects concerning their Lands, Tene-
 “ ments, Goods, Chattels and Properties, determi-
 “ nined thereof at the *Council-Table*, and stopped
 “ Proceedings at Law by Order of the *Council-Table*,
 “ and threatned some that pleaded the Statute of the
 “ 17th of *Car. I.*

“ XIV. That he hath caused *Quo Warranto*’s to be
 “ issued out against most of the *Corporations* of *Eng-*
 “ *land*, immediately after their *Charters* were con-
 “ firmed by an *Act* of Parliament, to the Intent he
 “ might require great Sums of Money of them for
 “ renewing their *Charters*; which when they com-
 “ plied withal, he caused the said *Quo Warranto*’s to
 “ be discharged, and Prosecutions therein to cease.

“ XV. That he procured the *Bills* of Settlement
 “ of *Ireland*, and received great Sums of Money for
 “ the same in a most corrupt and unlawful Manner.

“ XVI. That he hath deluded and betrayed
 “ Majesty and the Nation in all foreign Treaties
 “ and Negotiations relating to the War, and betr-
 “ ed and discovered his Majesty’s most secret Co-
 “ sels to his Enemies.

“ XVII. T

“ XVII. That he was the principal Author of that
 “ fatal Counsel of dividing the Fleet about June
 “ 1666.”

1667.

Upon the Credit of these Articles the *Commons* on the 12th of *September* impeached the Earl of High-Treason at the Bar of the Lords House, and demanded that he should be sent to the *Tower*. But the Lords did not think proper to commit him upon so general an Accusation, before they had examined how it was supported.

This raised a hot Dispute between the Houses, which several Conferences were not able to allay. At last, the *Commons* came to this Resolution. “ That
 “ the Lords not having complied with the Desire of
 “ the *Commons*, in committing the Earl of *Clarendon*,
 “ and sequestering him from Parliament upon the Im-
 “ peachment from that House, was an Obstruction
 “ of the Publick Justice of the Kingdom, and a
 “ Precedent of evil and dangerous Consequence.” At the same Time they appointed a Committee to draw up a Declaration to vindicate their Proceedings.

But the Earl of *Clarendon* seeing himself the Mark of the *Commons* Rage, and well knowing that the King and the whole Court were his Enemies, thought it adviseable to withdraw into *France*, after having left an Apology behind him, addressed to the Lords. In this Apology he did not expressly reply to every particular Article of his Impeachment: But his Answer was divided into four principal Parts, on each of which I shall say something here that will show wherein the Strength of his Defence lay.

1. With Relation to his Estate he said, that excepting what he had received from the King's Bounty, he had never taken one Penny but what was generally understood to be the just and lawful Perquisites of his Office. That his Estate was made up Principally of the King's Bounty to him, which although it was above his Merit, there were nevertheless those to whom the King had made at least as

His Apology addressed to the Lords.

great

1667. great Presents, though they had but small Right to pretend to them.

2. As to the Accusation of his having done every Thing according to his own Humour, while he had the Honour of his Majesty's Confidence, he answered in general, that he had neither done nor ordered any Thing of his own Head, but acted merely in Consequence of the Resolutions of Council, and of the King's Ministers. That for more than two Years no Difference had happened in the Council, nor any Complaints, to his Knowledge, in the Kingdom. But that since the Removal of Secretary *Nicholas*, there had been great Alterations, and every Body knew how much his Credit was diminished. That from that Time there had not been above one or two Persons admitted into the Council at his Recommendation, or who could be suspected of any Friendship for him: On the contrary, it was well known to the whole Court, that those who had been received into the Council were long before his Enemies, who took all Opportunities to lessen his Credit with the King, and with all other Persons, by misrepresenting and misreporting all he said or did.

3. He said, that in his Opinion, all the Misfortunes of the Kingdom proceeded from the *Dutch War*, to which it was notoriously known he was always most averse, unless his Majesty were strengthened by foreign Alliances. That it had been attempted to strike up an Alliance both with *France* and *Spain*. But that *Spain* always flattering herself that she should never be attacked by *France*, demanded as the Price of her Friendship the Surrender of *Dunkirk*, *Tangier*, and *Jamaica*. That *France* would have no Union with the King, unless he could be serviceable to her Designs. That as he had given his Opinion against entering into this War, so he had never given any Counsel or Advice for the way of managing it. That he had done nothing relating to it, but the opposite certain unreasonable Propositions, such as that of

Payment of Seamen with Tickets, instead of Mon

T. t

1667.

That this had drawn upon him so many Enemies who took all Occasions to inveigh against him, and make Friendship with Men of licentious Principles, who knew well enough how much he was offended with the Liberty which they took to *turn all Things serious and sacred into Ridicule.* That he never gave the least Advice in private to the King upon the Negotiations of Peace, nor wrote any Letter but by Order of Council, or at least of the King himself and some other Counsellors. That if he had prepared any *Instructions* or *Memorials*, it was by the King's Command, and the Request of the *Secretaries* who desired his Assistance. That the whole foregoing Year he had been but twice alone with his Majesty, and that he had been very rarely with him for the three last Years. That since the Parliament at *Oxford*, his Credit was so low, that any Proposal from him was immediately rejected, merely because it was his.

4. He beseeched their Lordships to remember the Office and Trust he had for seven Years, in which, in Discharge of his Duty, he was obliged to stop and obstruct many Men's Pretences, and to refuse to set the Seal to many Men's Pardons and other Grants, which would have been profitable to those who procured them, and many whereof upon his Representation to his Majesty were for ever stopped, which naturally raised him many Enemies. That he had likewise in Conjunction with the Earl of *Southampton* his intimate Friend laid before the King several Excesses in his Expence above his Revenue, and by this had provoked many Persons concerned, of great Power and Credit to do him all the ill Offices they could. But that he had never meddled with any Part of the Revenue, or the Administration of it. That in his whole Life he had never received any Present from any Prince, other than the Books of the *Louvre* Print, Ten shillings by the Chancellor of *France* by that King's Direction,

After

1667.

After this Defence, which I have very much abridged, he prayed the Lords to suspend their Judgement with relation to the Impeachment brought against him, till a more favourable Occasion should Offer for the clearing of his Innocence.

It is communicated to the Commons.

The Lords having received this Apology the 2d of December, desired a Conference with the Commons to communicate it to them. The Duke of Buckingham who had the Charge of delivering it, said, *The Lords have commanded me to deliver you this scandalous and seditious Paper, sent from the Earl of Clarendon: They bid me to present it to you, and desire you in convenient Time to send it to them again, for it has a Style which they are in Love with, and therefore desire to keep it.*

Is publicly burnt.

The Reading of this Defence put the Commons into a Flame. Some of the Earl's Enemies took occasion to make the most virulent Speeches against him, and at last the House voted his Apology *scandalous and malicious*, and a Reproach to the Justice of the Nation, and ordered it to be burnt by the Common Hangman.

The 13th of December the Lords sent to the Commons a Bill for the Banishment of the Earl of Clarendon, which met with great Opposition in that House. Some of the Members proposed a Bill of Attainder against him: At last the House voted, *That the King should be prayed to issue out his Proclamation for summoning the said Earl to appear by a Day, and to apprehend him in order to his Tryal, and that the Lords be sent to for their Concurrence in this Vote.* But the Lords refused their Concurrence because this Vote was contrary to their Bill.

A Bill is passed for the Earl's Banishment. Burnet, p. 256.

At last, on the 18th of December the Bill sent by the Lords passed the House of Commons, and the King willingly gave his Assent. The Truth is, it was the King himself who had, by means of the Duke of York, put the Earl of Clarendon upon the Thought of leaving the Kingdom. Whether the Earl's Friends had at last brought the King to relent, or he was not desirous of having the Articles of Impeachment publicly

publickly discussed which might have discovered Things he had a Mind to conceal. 1667.

Thus was the Earl of *Clarendon* sacrificed to the Hatred and Malice of his Enemies. But they were such Enemies that it may be said, his Persecution from them did him more Honour than the Crimes, which for the most part were groundlessly laid to his Charge, could injure his Reputation. These Enemies were, first, the King himself, who on this occasion forgot all the Services this faithful Minister had done his Father and himself, at a Time when his Affection and Fidelity could not be suspected, as they had no Prospect of being ever rewarded. But what is more strange is, that the King came to hate him, meerly because he served him too well, and in a just Concern for his Glory, did what lay in his Power to prevent his falling into Contempt, and engaging himself in Projects which could not but render him unfortunate. His other Enemies were the King's Mistresses and Favourites, Persons of profligate Lives, of no Religion, or of one contrary to that of the Establishment, who hated him only because they thought him too honest a Man, or believed him incapable of being gained over to their Designs. For almost every Body allows that not one single Article of those exhibited against him, except that of the Sale of *Dunkirk*, admitted of any Proof.

If the *Presbyterians* had procured his Ruin, there had been nothing strange in it as he was their professed Enemy. For it may be affirmed, that from him came all the Blows aimed at them since the Beginning of this Reign. But the *Presbyterians* at that Time of Day had no Credit, no Access either to Court or Parliament. What is most surprizing in the Downfall of this Minister, is the Animosity with which he was pursued by that very House of *Commons*, which he himself, if one may so say, had packed together of Men of the most High-flying Principles, with regard both to Religion and Government. But he found himself mistaken in his Views. For these same Principles, as they related to the Royal Power,

1667.

fixed the House with such Attachment to the King, that they made no Scruple of giving up the Earl of *Clarendon*, though the Head of the Party, when it was once known that the King had conceived a Dislike of him. This is not the only Time that able Politicians have laid the Foundation of their own Ruin, in seemingly the best concerted Projects.

Remarks
upon his
History of
the Rebel-
lion.

Amongst the great Services rendered by the Earl of *Clarendon* to *Charles I.* and *Charles II.* his excellent *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England* is not to be forgot, which was not published till after his Death. One sees in this History undeniable Proofs of the Author's sincere Affection for *Charles I.* Nay, it is very likely that it was written only with Design to justify the Conduct of this unfortunate Prince, and place it in the best Light it is capable of. If there is any Blemish in this History, it is that the Views of the Author are too undisguised. This has made impartial Readers think that it was not written so much with an Intent to instruct the Publick in the Truth of Facts, as to prepossess the World by divers Artifices and numberless Insinuations in favour of a System, which all Readers who have a sufficient Knowledge of the History and Government of *England*, will, doubtless, not come into. Another Charge which lies against this Author, is the Contempt and Animosity which he every where discovers against the *Presbyterians* and the *Scots*, even in Places where it seems they are entirely foreign to his Purpose. But this came from his Heart. And his immoderate Passion against *Presbyterianism*, was this great Man's Foible. He gloried in his Hatred of the *Presbyterians*, and perhaps he contributed more than any other Person to that excess of Animosity which subsists against them to this Day, with the Followers of his Maxims and Principles.

His great
Fortune.

From the Quality of a private Gentleman and a Lawyer, he rose to the highest Point of Fortune that a Man of his Rank could aspire to. His Merit and his inviolable Attachment to *Charles I.* and *Charles II.*

—fed

raised him to the Dignity of Earl, of Lord High-Chancellor, and of Prime Minister of State. But that which gives a farther Addition to his Glory, is the Marriage of his Daughter with the Duke of York, from which Bed proceeded two Princesses successively Queens of England. He spent the rest of his Days in Banishment, amidst *Protestant Presbyterians*, and *Papists*, whose declared Enemy he had been during the Time of his Favour, who nevertheless failed not to pay him all the Respects and Honours due to his Merit, and the Dignities with which his own Country had adorned him. He died at *Roan* the latter End of *December* 1674, aged 67.

The same Day that the Act for the Earl of *Clarendon's* Banishment passed in the House of *Commons*, the King gave his Assent to it by Commission. After this, he sent a Message to the two Houses by one of his Secretaries to desire they would adjourn to the 6th of *February*. In the Reign of *James I.*, a Difference had happened between the King and *Commons*, with relation to the Power or Right of Adjournment. The *Commons* pretended that though the King had a Right to dissolve or prorogue a Parliament, he had none to adjourn it, and that Adjournment depended entirely on each of the two Houses. But the Lords refusing their Concurrence, the House of *Commons* were obliged to drop their Pretension. From that Time *James I.*, and *Charles I.*, supposed this Right as undeniable, though it had never been decided in form. It seems therefore that *Charles II.*, by desiring the Parliament to adjourn, was willing to shew some Regard to the Pretensions of the *Commons*, or at least to avoid all occasion of Dispute with them. But this Condescension lasted not long; for it will be afterwards seen that he frequently adjourned the Parliament by his own Authority, without any Uneasiness expressed by the *Commons*. Now the Difference betwixt an *Adjournment* and a *Prorogation* lies in this, that a *Prorogation* ends the Sessions, and with it all Affairs which have been proposed or debated in Par-

The Par-
liament
adjourns.
A Remark
upon it.

1667. liament but not brought to a Conclusion ; so that they cannot serve as a Foundation to any Resolutions of a new Session, unless they are proposed afresh. But an Adjournment only suspends or delays them till the Parliament meets again. For this Reason it is that when the *Commons* have voted the King a Supply, the Parliament is never, or but very seldom prorogued, but only adjourned (when some short Recess is necessary) in order that upon its next Meeting it may proceed upon the Vote till it be passed into an *Act*.

A Proclamation against Papists.

Before the Parliament met in *October*, the King had published a Proclamation to order a rigorous Execution of the Laws against those Persons who went to hear *Mass* at the Chapel of Ambassadors. He persisted to the last in his Dissimulation with regard to Religion, and in his Design to impose a Belief upon his Subjects, that he was a good *Protestant*. For this properly it was that these sorts of Proclamations were intended. But the Non-Performance of them had a quite contrary Effect. For Men could never be persuaded of the Necessity of so frequent Proclamations, if the King had been in earnest to have them executed according to Law.

The Royal-Exchange built.

This same Month of *October* the King went in great State to lay the first Stone of the Foundation of the *Royal-Exchange* : This Building was finished in a very short Time.

Death of Bishop Wren.

This Year, Death took out of the World *Thomas Wriotbesley* Earl of *Southampton*, Lord High-Treasurer, as I said before. The other less remarkable Deaths were those of Dr. *Matthew Wren* Bishop of *Ely*, the great Enemy of the *Presbyterians*, who, to revenge themselves on him for the Hardships he had put upon them before the Civil War broke out, had detained him Prisoner in the *Tower* from the Year 1622 to that of the Restoration. He was then restored to his Bishoprick of *Ely*, where he dyed aged Eighty One Years. The other Death was that of the famous Poet *Abraham Cowley* little known to

And Mr. Cowley.

gers, but much, and deservedly esteemed by the *English*. 1667.

After the Removal of the Earl of *Clarendon* the King and his Ministers, of which the Earl of *Arlington*, and Sir *Orlando Bridgeman* were the Principal, believed it of absolute Necessity to give some Satisfaction to the People, by some Step taken to persuade them that the Court was Intent upon the Welfare of the Nation. The King of *France*, by his Invasion of *Flanders*, discovered so clearly his Intention not to stand to the Renunciation of his Queen of all the Members of the *Spanish* Monarchy, that he could not possibly be mistaken. Besides, his Power was daily increasing, whereas that of *Spain* as visibly declined. It was therefore the Interest of *Europe* in general, and of *England* in particular, to take, in time, the most proper Measures to give a Check to this formidable Power, which might produce great Revolutions, if Care was not taken to stop its Progress. Nothing was more popular than such a Design, and nothing more capable to regain the Credit the King had lost amongst his Subjects. Wherefore the 1st of *January* 1667-8, a Resolution was taken to enter into a strict Union with the *States-General* of the *United Provinces*, to prevent the King of *France's* entire Reduction of *Flanders*, and the Remainder of the *Spanish* Dominions in the *Low Countries*. The Court likewise resolved to use their Endeavours for the engaging the King of *Sweden* into the same Measures, and forming, by this Means, a *Triple Alliance* capable to intimidate *Lewis XIV*, and oblige him to proceed with more Caution.

To execute this Project, Sir *William Temple* had Orders to repair to the *Hague* out of Hand, with the Character of Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary. I shall not enter into the Particulars of this Negotiation, which is to be met with in the Writings of Sir *William Temple*, published in a *French* Version. I shall only observe, that by the Address and Dexterity of this Envoy, the Treaty of Alliance be-

1667-8.
The King
resolves to
give some
Satisfaction
to the
People.

A Triple-
Alliance
concluded
between
England,
Holland
and Swe-
den.

1667-8.

tween the King and the *States* was concluded in five Days, and, which is more, signed by the *States-General*, without any Communication of it to the particular Provinces, which had never been practised before. Moreover the *Count de Dbona*, Ambassador of *Sweden*, engaged for his Master that he should enter into this Treaty, if a Place was left for him to come in as a Principal. Afterwards this Count signed a like Treaty in the Name of the King of *Sweden* with the King of *England* and the *States-General*, after it was agreed that this Treaty should be considered as a Part of the foregoing when ratified. These Treaties were first sent into *England*, and ratified by that King, and shortly after the King of *Sweden's* Ratification was likewise received. Thus was concluded, in a very little Time, this *Triple League*, the most Important that had been made for many Years in *Europe*, which was to check the Power, as well as vast Designs of *France*.

*Explication
of this
Treaty.*

For the thorough understanding this Treaty, of which I shall presently give the Substance, it is to be observed that *Louis XIV.*, after his last Campaign, in which he had seized many strong Places belonging to the *Spaniards* in the *Netherlands*, had, at the pressing Instances of the *States-General*, consented to a Treaty with *Spain* till the End of *March* 1668. Moreover he had left to the Queen Regent of *Spain*, the Choice of either yielding to him the Places conquered by him the last Campaign, or else the Dutchy of *Luxemburgh*, or instead of it *Franche-Comté*, *Cambrai* and *Cambresis*, *Douay*, *Aire*, *St. Omer*, *Bergue*, *Furnes*, and *Linck*, for which he promised to surrender up all the rest of his Conquests. These Offers, as one sees, were founded upon the Supposition that the Renunciation of the Queen of *France* in the Treaty of her Marriage was of no Validity. Though this Thing was decided only by the King of *France* himself, yet the *States-General*, seeing no possible Way of obliging him to desist from his Pretension, had approved of this Alternative, and positively

gaged to join their Arms with those of *France*, in order to force *Spain* to embrace one or other of these Offers. They could not therefore recede after having gone so far. For which Reason, they resolved to make with *England* three different Treaties, which nevertheless were to take Place, as containing but one and the same Treaty. 1667-8.
Three
Treaties
upon diffe-
rent Cases.

The first Treaty contained a Defensive Alliance between *England* and the *States-General*, against all Persons whomsoever who should attack either of the Parties, with a specification of the Succours to be mutually given in case of any such Attack. This Alliance to be perpetual. 1st Treaty.

By the second Treaty, the King and the *States* were obliged to use their joint Endeavours to bring the King of *France* to make Peace in the *Netherlands* on one of the proposed Conditions, and to dispose the King of *Spain* to make Choice of one of the Two before the End of *May*. But in case of any Difficulty made by the *Spaniards*, they engaged to use their Endeavours to bring the King of *France* to stop all farther Progress of his Arms in *Flanders*, and leave it wholly to the Allies to procure the Ends proposed in the *League*. 2d Treaty.

The third Treaty contained, 1. That if in procuring Peace between *France* and *Spain* any Difficulties should arise concerning the *Renunciation*, Care should be taken so to settle the Articles of Peace, as to bring no Prejudice to the Rights or Demands of either. But if one Side only should reject this Expedient, then the Allies should proceed against the Refuser, in the manner agreed in the second Treaty. 2. That the Allies should use their Endeavours to procure Peace between *Spain* and *Portugal*. And though they did not pretend to prevent the King of *France* from giving any Assistance to *Portugal*, they would nevertheless hinder, as far as lay in their Power, his assisting that Nation by making War in the *Netherlands*. 3. But in Case that the King of *France* rejecting the Conditions contained in the *second Treaty*, 3d Treaty.

1667-8. ty, should make farther Progress in *Flanders*, then the Allies should join with *Spain*, and make War upon the King of *France* till they had obliged him to comply with the Terms of the *Pyrenean Treaty*.
4. That all these Articles should be ratified within the Space of one Month,

This Treaty which, as I said, was signed by the King of *Sweden* as a Principal, and was called the *Triple-League*, received the Applauses of all *Europe*, except *France*. Indeed the Tendency of it was not only to save the *Netherlands*, pursuant to the true Interests of *England* and the *States-General*, but moreover to prevent a War which must have thrown all *Europe* into a Flame. It is perhaps the only Step made by *Charles* through the whole Course of his Reign, which really tended to the Benefit and Advantage of *England*. It will be seen hereafter that, in all likelihood, he had no other Intention than to dazzle the Publick, and amuse the World by an Action which did him so much Honour. But his ill-supporting what he had so well begun, made it clear to the World that he sinned not out of Ignorance, or for want of a thorough Knowledge of the Interests of his own Kingdom, and those of all *Europe*.

A Peace between Spain and Portugal.

Shortly after Sir *William Temple* concluded a Treaty of Commerce with the *States-General*, and about the same Time the Treaty of Peace between *Spain* and *Portugal* was happily finished, under the Guarantee of the King of *England*.

The King's Speech to the Parliament.

While these Affairs were transacting, the Parliament met the 10th of *February*. The King in his Speech to the Houses informed them, that he had made a League Offensive and Defensive with the *States of the United Provinces*, and another to secure effectually a Peace between *France* and *Sweden*, into which the King of *Sweden* had entered as a Principal. He added, that the Posture of his Neighbourhood, and the Consequence of the new Alliance obliging him to set out a Fleet to Sea, he should

a speedy Supply ; that besides it was of absolute Necessity to build some large Ships, and fortify the Ports : He concluded with desiring them to think seriously of some Course to beget a better Union amongst his Subjects in Matters of Religion. 1667-8.

The *Commons* joyfully received the News of the Triple-Alliance ; but before they proceeded to the Consideration of the King's Speech, they resolved to examine into the Mismanagements in the late War. *Mismanagements examined into by the Commons.* They appointed for this Purpose a Committee, which found a great many Things deserving Reproof in the Conduct of several Persons, " as in the Affair of " *Bergben* in *Norway* ; in the plundering the *East-India* Ships while the *Dutch* passed by ; in the " not setting out a sufficient Fleet last Year ; in the " Separation of those that were out, so that they " became useless ; in the want of Provision and " Ammunition in the Fleet, and in the Forts ; in " Payment of the Sea-men by Tickets ; in the want " of Intelligence and dividing the Fleets in the second Year of the War ; in the Business of *Chatham*, &c. " The *Commons* accused *Brounker* that after the first Battle, he had carried false Orders from the Duke of *York*, while that Prince was reposing himself, which had prevented the entire Destruction of the Enemy's Fleet. With Regard to the Affair of *Chatham*, they accused Commissioner *Pett* for having neglected his Duty, and expelled him the House of *Commons*. Sir *William Penn* was accused of having embezzled great Quantities of rich Goods taken as Prize from the *Dutch*.

The King was doubly concerned to put an End to these Examinations, because the greatest Part of the Miscarriages reflected upon him, though only some certain Officers were directly accused ; and besides, the *Commons* wasted the Time which, according to him, would have been better employed in considering of the Supplies which he had demanded. He therefore pressed the *Commons*, by three several Messengers, to go upon the Money-Bill, telling them in his 1668.

The King presses the Money-Bill.

1668.

his last Message, that he intended to prorogue the Parliament the 4th of May. But being informed that the House was not pleased with this Design, because a Prorogation would have defeated all their Measures against *Delinquents*, he let them know, the 24th of April, that he intended only an Adjournment for three Months; he prayed them at the same Time that the Money-Bill might be ready against the 4th of May.

Is addressed by both Houses to put the Laws in Execution against Papists and Non-Conformists.

Besides the Business of the Supply, the House of Commons was upon another which they had very much at Heart. They began to discover the King's secret Intentions, and believed, that under Colour of easing the *Presbyterians*, his Design was to obtain a general Indulgence for all the *Non-Conformists*, in order to include the *Papists* under that general Denomination. An Insinuation in his Speech confirmed that Suspicion. Therefore to stop the Progress of a Design so contrary to their Principles, with regard both to *Poper*y and *Presbyterianism*, the House presented an Address to the King, to pray him, "That he would issue out his Proclamation for enforcing the Laws against *Conventicles*; and that Care might be taken for the Preservation of the Peace against all unlawful Assemblies of *Papists* and *Non-Conformists*." — The King, according to his usual Custom, failed not to issue forth a Proclamation upon this Subject, in which he said, *That the Insolence of the Non-Conformists was so much the more surprizing, in that (whilst it was under Consideration to find out a Way for the better Union of his Protestant Subjects) divers Persons in several Parts of this Realm frequently and openly held unlawful Assemblies and Conventicles.* He supposed that the Parliament was upon this Union, because he had recommended it to them. But this never entered into their Thoughts, unless it this Union the King had meant an entire Conformity with the Church of *England*, which was by no Means his Intention.

He puts out a Proclamation.

At this Time a great Difference broke out between the two Houses, occasioned by Mr. Skinner a Merchant of London, who believing he had just Cause of Complaint against the *East-India-Company*, brought the Matter by Petition into the House of Lords originally. The Lords, after an Examination of it, gave him Five Thousand Pounds Costs upon the said *Company*. On the other Hand, the *Company* having petitioned the *Commons*, they upon it sent Skinner to the Tower, for his having applied originally to the Lords in an Affair which the *Common-Law* ought to have determined. The Petition presented to the *Commons* by the *East-India Company* was voted *Scandalous* by the Lords, and a great many Conferences held between the two Houses, were not capable to terminate this Difference. At last the *Commons* voted, " That whoever should be aiding " or assisting in putting in Execution the Order or " Sentence of the House of Lords, in the Case of " *Thomas Skinner* against the *East-India Company*, " should be deemed a Betrayer of the Rights and " Liberties of the *Commons* of *England*, and an Infringer of the Privileges of the House. "

The same Day that this Vote passed in the House of *Commons*, being the 5th of May, the King came to the Lord's House, and having passed the Bill for raising Three Hundred and Ten Thousand Pounds by an Imposition on Wines and other Liquors, and to some other Acts, he adjourned the Parliament to the 11th of August. He adjourned it again a second Time; and lastly, prorogued it to the 19th of October. 1669.

I have already mentioned the Affairs depending between *France* and *Spain*, and the Alternative offered by the King of *France*. The Marquess of *Castel-Rodrigo*, or rather the Court of *Spain*, not being in haste to make a Choice, *Lewis XIV* in the Month of February invaded the *Franche Comté*, and in less than a Fortnight made himself Master of the whole Province. This Conquest however did not make him

1668.
A Difference between the two Houses.

The King passes some Bills, and then adjourns, and afterwards prorogues the Parliament.

Lewis XIV makes himself Master of *Franche-Comté*.

rise

1668. rise in his Demands, but he was still willing to abide by the Offer of the two Conditions he had proposed. But the Court of *Spain* delayed as much as was possible to declare upon the Alternative, designing to engage *England* and the *States* in a War against *France*. Nevertheless, as the Treaty of the *Triple-League* was directly contrary to the Design of *Spain*, (the three Allies being only engaged to take up Arms in Case the King of *France* stood not to his Proposal) it was not possible for the Court of *Spain* to compass their Ends. At last, after a great many Tergiversations, the Marquess of *Castel-Rodrigo* declared that he accepted the first Part of the *Alternative*, by which *France* was to keep what had been conquered the last Campaign. This Choice surprized the *States*, who had relied on the *Spaniards* accepting rather the second Proposal of the *Alternative*, which appeared less disadvantageous to them. But the *Spanish* Policy aimed at throwing *England* and the *States* into an unavoidable Necessity of entering into a War with *France*, if the least Step should be taken by her to push her Conquests in the *Netherlands*.

The Court
of Spain
accepts one
of the Al-
ternatives.

Peace con-
cluded at
Aix la
Chapelle.

This Choice being made, the Peace had no longer any Difficulty. The Town of *Aix la Chapelle* was agreed on for the Place of Treaty, and the Plenipotentiaries of *France* and *Spain* repairing thither, the Treaty was concluded and signed the 2d of *May*, after a Negotiation of Fifteen Days. The Treaty contained in Substance that the King of *France* should keep Possession of *Charleroy*, *Binch*, *Aith*, *Doway*, *Fort-de-la-Scarpe*, *Tournay*, *Oudenarde*, *Lisle*, *Armentiers*, *Courtray*, *Borgbes*, *Furnes*, with all their Dependencies. The King of *France* on his Side restored *Franche-Comté* to the Crown of *Spain*. The *States* in Alliance were Guarantees of this Peace, and all other Princes and States were allowed to be so too if they pleased.

The Dutch
challenge
the Honour
of it.

Though the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle* had considerably augmented the Power of *France*, the *States-General* of the *United-Provinces* believed neverthe-
it

that they had done a great Thing in stopping the Career of the *French Arms*, and preventing their further Progress. They ascribed to themselves the whole Glory and Merit of this Success, though indeed the *Triple-League* had never come into their Heads had it not been proposed by the King of *England*. To immortalize their Glory they struck a Medal, on one Side of which was seen *Holland* leaning against a Trophy, and upon the Reverse, Words to this Effect: *That they had restored and secured the Laws; amended and reformed Religion; assisted, defended and reconciled Kings; restored Freedom to the Ocean; procured by their Arms a glorious Peace, and established the Tranquillity of all Europe.* On the other Hand, *Josuah Van Beuninghen*, who had been employed in negotiating this Peace, struck a Medal, and compared himself to *Josuah* stopping the Course of the Sun. As the King of *France* had taken the Sun for his Device, the Meaning of this Medal could not be mistaken. But the *States* immediately suppressed it. As for the first and some others which discovered an unwarrantable Presumption, they were not broke in Pieces till some Years afterwards. It will be seen in the Sequel that they had but too just Cause to repent of this Insult offered to *Lewis XIV.*

When I said above that *Charles*, according to all Appearance, proposed the *Triple-League* only to amuse the Publick, and appease the Discontents of the People, which began to appear, I founded this Conjecture first upon *Sir William Temple's* not being able to forbear suspecting that the King would not long continue in this Resolution. This Suspicion of his appears from several of his Letters. But as they were written to the Earl of *Arlington* Secretary of State, he contented himself with insinuating his Thought without daring to speak too plain. Secondly, it has been seen in a Letter of the King of *France* to *d'Estrades*, how little Concern *Charles* had for the Preservation of the *Netherlands*, since, believing that *Lewis* had Views that Way, he offered to let him make that

Reasons which make it plain that Charles only amused the Publick.

1668.

the King's Person, that he was almost absolute there, and able to direct the Resolutions of the Council. In short, if the King had any Religion, he was most inclined to *Popery*. He found besides a considerable Advantage in caressing the *Papists*, whom he esteemed as his firm Friends, whereas he could not help dreading the Zeal of the *Protestants*, in Case they should discover that he had abjured their Religion.

*The King's
Design to
make him-
self abso-
lute.*

After this View of the State of the *English* Court, it is easy to conceive that those who had the greatest Credit, and the freest Access to the King's Person, could by no Means intend the Benefit of the Kingdom. Every one of his most intimate Counsellors would have been glad to see the King absolute, that he might have at Command the whole Riches of *England* to lavish away upon them. The King himself was so uneasy to see that he was obliged continually to devise fresh Pretences to demand Money of his Parliament, that he could have wished to be delivered from that Trouble, and to be more at Liberty to take what he wanted without asking. But on the other Hand, he saw himself obliged to proceed with Caution; the Example of the King his Father not permitting him to enter into the same Course, before he had well concerted his Measures. This was the Reason that for some Years the Court-Projects were executed gradually, and with great Dissimulation, notwithstanding the warm Temper of the Duke of *York*, and the Eagerness of the *Papists*. For it may be affirmed, that the King alone opposed their Career, whether out of Fear or Prudence.

*The King
wishes di-
vers
Places.
Sends a
Fleet into
the Medi-
terranean.
Embassies.*

This Summer the King diverted himself with making several Progresses into the Country to view the Ports and Navy. He sent a Squadron into the *Mediterranean* commanded by Sir *Thomas Allen*, who forced the *Algerines* to a Peace very advantageous to *England*.

Nothing memorable, besides what has been taken Notice of happened during the rest of the Year, except some Embassies which the Sequel requires should

should be mentioned. Sir *William Godolphin* was sent to the Court of *Spain*; Mr. *Ralph Montague* was first Envoy, and soon after Ambassador to *France*; the Earl of *Carlisle* went Ambassador to *Stockholm**; and Sir *William Temple* Ambassador extraordinary to the *States-General*. On the other Hand, *Monsieur Colbert* was sent from *France* to reside at the *English Court*. 1668.

Some Changes were likewise made at Court in the publick Employments. Sir *Thomas Clifford* was made Treasurer of the Household; the Duke of *Monmouth* the King's natural Son was made Captain of his Life-Guard of Horse; Sir *John Trevor*, lately returned from *France*, where he had been Envoy, was sworn one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, on the Resignation of Sir *William Morrice*, to whom he gave Ten Thousand Pounds Sterling. *Advancements at Court.*

This Year died *Algernon Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, and was succeeded by his Son†: The famous Poets *Davenant* and *Denham*; and the great Soldier Sir *William Waller*, so often mentioned in the History of the Civil Wars. He had been imprisoned by the *Independent* Parliament, and confined till the King's Restoration, when he was delivered on account of his Sufferings in some measure the same with those of the *Royalists*. *Deaths.*

Though the Year 1669 produced no memorable Events, yet was it a fatal Year to *Europe*, since it was probably this Year that Measures were beginning to be concerted for the strict Union of *France* with *England*. At least, we find in Sir *William Temple's* Letters, that Mr. *Puffendorf*, who had been sent this Year Envoy from *Sweden* to the Court of *France*, calling at the *Hague* in his Return back, said to Sir *William Temple*, that a Minister at the *French Court* had assured him that the *Triple-Alliance* would not 1669. *The King changes his Measures with regard to the Triple Alliance.*

* With Sir *Samuel Moreland* as Envoy.

† Who died within two Years, and with him was extinct the ancient and famous Family of the *Percys*.

1669.

*Is gained
by France.*

subsist, and that the *English* Court had already changed their Measures. The same Mr. *Puffendorf* saw a Letter in *Marthal Turenne's* Hands at *Paris*, from *Monfieur Colbert* the *French* Ambassador at *London*, wherein, that Ambassador speaking of the *English* Court, has these Words — *I have at last made them sensible of the whole Extent of his Majesty's Liberality.* This leaves no room to doubt but that *Colbert's* Embassy to *London* was designed to gain or corrupt the *English* Court, and that he met with Success. For the Time only is in Dispute, the Thing itself appeared manifestly in the Sequel.

*The Prince
of Tuscany ar-
rives in
England.*

The latter End of *March*, *Cosmo de Medicis* Prince of *Tuscany* arrived in *England*, where he was received with all the Honours due to his Birth and particular Merit. As his Design was only to see *England* after he had visited *Spain* and *France*, he was shown, by Order of the King, whatever was curious, and particularly the two Universities.

*Prince
George of
Denmark.*

Shortly after his Departure, *Prince George* of *Denmark* came to pay the King a Visit, but he made no long Stay then in *England*.

*Theater at
Oxford
opened.*

The 9th of *July* the large and magnificent Theater at *Oxford*, built at the Expence of *Dr. Sheldon* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was opened. He was then Chancellor of the University, and shortly after resigned that Honour to the Duke of *Ormond*. The Duke was still Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, but shortly after was removed and succeeded by the Lord *Roberts*, who was not of the same Principles with the Duke.

*The King's
Scheme for
Religion.*

In all appearance the King had already formed a sort of Scheme with regard to Religion. This was to incorporate the *Presbyterians* with the Church of *England*, and procure a Toleration for all the other Sects of *Non-conformists*. He might have a double View in this. His first might be to gain the *Presbyterians* who were very numerous in the Kingdom, to his Interests, and perhaps make use of them, thus unite with the Church of *England*, to allay the H

th

1669.

the *Episcopalians*, who were not less Enemies to the *Papists* than to the *Presbyterians*. If the King had not been a *Papist*, which was a Secret then little known, it would have been difficult to understand his Politicks. For supposing him a zealous Member of the Church of *England*, what need had he of guarding against her? But being a *Catholic*, the Advantage of these Precautions are very visible. His second View, allowed by all the World, and manifestly discovered afterwards, was by procuring an Indulgence for all *Non-conformists* without Exception; to procure likewise the same Favour for the *Papists*. In pursuance of this Scheme the King and his Ministers affected to shew great Kindness for the *Presbyterians*, and this Behaviour gave them Encouragement to appear more openly, and hold their Assemblies with less Caution and Secrecy than they had done before. In short, Sir Orlando Bridgeman Lord-Keeper, whether privy to the King's secret Intentions, or led merely by his own obliging Temper and Humanity, ordered two of the most eminent *Presbyterian* Ministers to be acquainted that he desired a Conference with them *. They waited on him, and he frankly told them, that his Design was to make them some Proposals for a Comprehension of such Dissenters as could be brought into the Communion of the Church of *England*, and for procuring a Toleration for the *Independents* and the rest. Upon this Occasion these two *Presbyterian* Ministers had several Conferences with two *Episcopal* Doctors[†], one of them Chaplain to the Lord-Keeper. When it is remembered that at the *Savoy*-Conference, held in the Beginning of his Reign, the two Parties could come to no manner of Agreement, and that in the present Conference Matters were immediately adjusted, there is no room to doubt that the two *Episcopal* Divines came fully prepared to facilitate the Accommodation.

The *Presbyterians* caressed.

A Project of a Comprehension, in order to which the Lord Keeper of the Great-Seal procures a Conference between some Church of England and Presbyterian Ministers.

* *Manton* and *Baxter*.

† *Dr. Wilkins*, and *Dr. Burton* the Keeper's Chaplain.

1669,
The
Church
Ministers
make large
Concessions

However that be, they agreed amongst themselves upon the Point of *Re-ordination*, which they most differed about, and settled it That all *Presbyterian* Ministers who had already been ordained, should be admitted into the Ministry of the Church of England with this Form — *Take thou Legal Authority to preach the Word of God, and administer the Holy Sacraments in any Congregation of England, where thou shalt be lawfully appointed thereunto.* This was not properly a *new Ordination*, but simply a Power to exercise their Ministry in the Church of England. It was likewise agreed that *Ceremonies* should be left indifferent, so that they might be used or not, according as every Man saw convenient; and that the *Liturgy* should be altered in several Places: Moreover, that those who could not be comprehended should be *indulged*: and for Security to the Government, the Names of the *Teachers*, and all the Members of the *Congregations* should be registred. Agreeably to this Scheme the Lord Chief Justice *Hales* took upon him to draw up a *Bill* against the ensuing Parliament, and the Lord-Keeper promised to support it with all his Power. It is easy to perceive, that this Project, however necessary to the King's Designs, was nevertheless directly contrary to the Principles of the Parliament, who were averse to all sort of *Condescension*; so that it only ended in Smoke.

The Arch-
bishop of
Canterbu-
ry tries to
break the
Measures
for a Com-
prehension.

In the mean time, whether the Secret of what passed in the Conferences was not well kept, or the *Non-conformists* by Encouragement from the Court assumed too much Liberty, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* resolved to use his utmost Endeavours to break their Measures. For this purpose he wrote to all his Suffragan-Bishops a Circular Letter, enjoining them to make exact Inquiry into the *Conventions* held in their Diocesses. After he was provided with the necessary Informations, he went to the King and obtained from him a Proclamation to put the *Laws* against *Conventicles* in Execution, and particularly the *Act* for restraining *Non-conformists* from inhabiting

in *Corporations*. This Proclamation was executed much in the same Manner with others against *Papists*. 1669.

For, about two Months after, the King ordered the *Non-conformist* Ministers to be told from him, that he was desirous to make them easy, and if they thought fit to petition him they should be favourably heard.

A Petition was accordingly drawn up and presented to the King at the Earl of *Arlington's* Lodgings, who received it graciously, and returned a favourable Answer *.

A Petition of the Non-Conformists

favourably received by the King.

The Commons examine the Publick Accounts.

The Parliament according to the Prorogation met the 19th of *October*. The King in a short Speech demanded Money for the Discharge of his Debts, and proposed in few Words the Union of the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*. Then the Lord-Keeper enlarged a little upon these Points. But the *Commons* instead of taking the King's Speech into Consideration went upon other Affairs. The publick Accounts were examined, and it was enquired to what use the King had employed the Money given him by the Parliament, and Sir *George Carteret's* Books being found in great Disorder, he was expelled the House. Then they addressed the King to thank him for his Proclamation against *Conventicles*, and prayed him to look strictly to the Execution of it.

But not contented with this Step, they appointed a Committee to inquire into the Behaviour of the *Non-conformists*. This Committee after having received divers Informations, reported, That in the very Neighbourhood of the Parliament, divers *Conventicles* and other seditious Meetings were held, where disaffected Persons in great Numbers assembled in Defiance of the Government, and to the Danger of both Houses, and of the Peace of the Kingdom. It seems that the House was somewhat ashamed to shew so much Resentment against the *Presbyterians* merely on the Account of Religion, and therefore with great Care brought in the

Proceedings against the Non-Conformists.

* His Answer was, That he would do his utmost to get them comprehended within the Publick Establishments.

1669. Interest of the State to have it believed that the *Presbyterians* were guilty of Sedition. For they were always included under the general Denomination of *Non-conformists*, so that it was believed they ought to be responsible for the Conduct of the other Sects, with whom they had nothing to do. Upon the Report of the Committee, the House declared that they would firmly adhere to the King in the Maintenance of the Government of the Church and State, against all the Enemies of both. When it is considered that the State had never enjoyed a more perfect Tranquillity than at this Juncture, it cannot be doubted that this Resolution of the *Commons* was owing to the Project just now mentioned, which doubtless they were acquainted with, and were desirous to prevent the Execution of by this indirect Declaration of their Opposition to it.

Vote of the Commons

The Commons vote the King a Supply.

The Difference of the two Houses renewed.

The Parliament prorogued.

Affairs of Scotland.

At last the *Commons* voted the King a Supply of Four Hundred Thousand Pounds. But before they considered of the Ways and Means to raise this Sum, they resumed the Debate relating to *Skinner* and the *East-India Company*, and came to several Resolutions, which the Lords deemed as so many Violations of their Privileges and Authority. The Division between the Houses increasing daily, the King saw it would be very difficult to bring them to an Accommodation, and that the *Commons* would not meddle with the Money-Bill till this Affair was ended, and as he had no hope to see the End of it, he prorogued the Parliament the 11th of *December*, to the 14th of *February* following.

The Parliament of *Scotland* met about the same Time with that of *England*. But before I come to the Transactions of this Parliament, it will, I think, be no Digression, briefly to show the Character of the Duke of *Lauderdale*, the King's *High-Commissioner*. This Nobleman made so great a Figure in the present Reign, both in *England* and *Scotland*, that it will not be foreign to the Purpose to take some Notice of him.

The Earl of *Lauderdale*, afterwards created a Duke, was a rigid *Presbyterian* during the Troubles in *Scotland*, a zealous *Covenanter*, and a distinguished Enemy of the Royal Authority. He nevertheless threw himself into the King's Party in 1647, when Duke *Hamilton* invaded *England*, in Support of *Charles I.* From this Time his Country looked on him as a declared Enemy. But after the Arrival of *Charles II* in *Scotland*, and the Composure of the Differences in that Kingdom, he followed the King into *England*, was taken Prisoner at the Battle of *Worcester*, and by Removals from one Prison to another, continued in Confinement till the King's Restoration. During his Imprisonment he had great Impressions of Religion on his Mind. But after the King had received him into his Favour and Council, he so entirely wore them out, that hardly any Trace of them was left. Whether from a Knowledge of the secret Sentiments of the King and Duke of *York*, with regard to Religion, or only from a Suspicion of them, he was of Opinion that the best way to preserve himself in the Favour he enjoyed, was to enter into all the King's supposed Views, and to labour to render him absolute in both Kingdoms. Upon the King's Restoration it was debated in Council, whether *Episcopacy* should be restored in *Scotland*. The Duke of *Lauderdale* opposed the Motion with all his Power, and gave this extraordinary Reason for it, namely, That the *Scots*, if they were governed according to the Grain of their own Inclinations, would be always at the King's Devotion on any occasion of Dispute he might afterwards have with the Parliament of *England*. This Advice, though it was not complied with, was acceptable to the King, and rivetted the Duke in his Favour. The Resolution to restore *Episcopacy* having been executed, no Person appeared more ardent against the *Presbyterians*, nor had they a more violent Persecutor. I shall doubtless have occasion to say more of him afterwards, but this may suffice to give the Reader some Idea of his Character.

1669.
Character
of Lau-
derdale.

1669.
This Scotch
Parlia-
ment rais-
es higher
the King's
Suprema-
cy, and ap-
proves by
an Act the
raising of
the Militia.
The Inten-
tion of this
Act.

It was through his Means and Intrigues that the Parliament, held this Year in *Scotland*, made an Act which raised the King's *Supremacy* higher than ever it had been carried before. The same Parliament approved the raising of the *Militia*, and ordained by an express Act, that it might be employed in any Country of the King's Dominion without any Application to the King for his express Order, and that it should be obliged to obey any Orders of the *Scotch Council*. It was not at first known what could be the Intent of an Act which seemed to take the *Militia* out of the King's Hands, to put it into those of the Council. But it was understood afterwards that this was a Contrivance of the Duke of *Lauderdale*, to put these Troops into the King's Power whenever he had occasion for them, without his appearing openly to call them into *England*, and that any Complaints, in Case of a Mis-carriage, might be against the Council; this may let us see that he was then forming Designs to render the King absolute in *England*.

Deaths of
the Queen-
Mother,
the Duke of
Albemarle
and Mr.
Plynn.

This Year the King's Mother died in *France*, the 20th of *August*, in the Sixtieth Year of her Age. The famous Duke of *Albemarle* died likewise the 3d of *January*, and was succeeded in his Estate and Honour by *Christopher* his only Son. To these Deaths let us add that of the famous *Plynn*, the indefatigable Author of more than Two Hundred Treatises, most of them of little Esteem*.

The King's
speech to
his Parlia-
ment.

The Parliament meeting the 14th of *February*, the King told the two Houses—"That when they last met, he asked them a Supply, and now asked it again with greater Instance: The Uneasiness and Straitness of his Affairs could not continue without very ill Effects to the whole Kingdom. He let them know, that having fully examined :
" Sta

* Let it be remembered of him, that he was a considerable Argument in the Restoration, was received into Favour, had the keys of the Tower committed to him, which he put into good Order, and died a Member of the present Parliament.

“ State of the Expences in the last War, he could
 “ assure them that no Part of those Moneys that they
 “ had given him had been converted to other uses.
 “ But on the contrary, that a very great Sum had
 “ been raised out of his standing Revenue and Cré-
 “ dit, and a very great Debt contracted, and all for
 “ the War. Lastly, he recommended to them not
 “ to suffer any Occasion of Difference between them-
 “ selves to be revived”.——

The Lord-Keeper seconded his Speech with another, which I think it necessary to insert at length, to shew the Confidence which the King reposed in this Parliament, which had already granted him such large Sums.

*My Lords, and you Knights, Citizens, and Burgessees
 of the House of Commons.*

“ **A**T your last Meeting, his Majesty did ac-
 “ quaint you with the great Occasions he had
 “ for a Supply, and that he had forbore to ask it
 “ sooner, more in Consideration of giving some
 “ Time for the Ease of the People, after the Burden
 “ of the last War, than that the Condition of his Af-
 “ fairs could so long have wanted it: And his Ma-
 “ jesty hath commanded me now to speak more ful-
 “ ly and plainly upon that Subject. His Majesty
 “ hath not only by his Ministers, but in his own
 “ Royal Person examined the Accompts, touching
 “ the Expences of the last War, and hath thought
 “ himself concerned to let you know, that all the
 “ Supplies which you gave him for the War, have
 “ been by him applied to the War, and no Part of
 “ them to any other Uses: Nay, so far from it,
 “ that if the Preparations towards the War shall be
 “ taken for the Use of the War, as they must be;
 “ a great Part of his own Revenue, to many Hun-
 “ dred Thousands of Pounds, hath been employed
 “ also, and swallowed up in the Charge of the War,
 “ and what did necessarily relate to it. To which
 “ may

1669-70. “ may be added the great Debts contracted by his
 “ Majesty in this War, and the great Repairs of the
 “ Hulls of his Ships, and putting his Navy into such
 “ a Condition as it was before. Besides, his Majesty
 “ thinks it ought to be considered, that when the
 “ Charges of the War were at the highest, the inevi-
 “ table Effects of it, and those other Calamities,
 “ which it pleased God at that Time to bring upon
 “ us, did make so great a Diminution of his Reve-
 “ nues, that besides all other Accidents and Disad-
 “ vantages, the Loss that he sustained in three Branch-
 “ es of his Revenue, in the *Customs*, *Excise*, and
 “ *Hearth-Money*, by reason of the War, the Plague,
 “ and the Fire, did amount to little less then to Six
 “ Hundred Thousand Pounds. Thus you see, that
 “ though your Supplies have been great, yet the
 “ Charges occasioned by the War, and the Calami-
 “ ties which accompanied it, have been greater:
 “ And that the Debt which is left upon his Majesty,
 “ and which he complains of hath been contracted
 “ by the War, and not by the Diversiſion of the Mo-
 “ neys designed for it.

“ His Majesty hath commanded me to say one
 “ Thing more to you upon this Subject, That he did
 “ not enter into the War upon any private Inclina-
 “ tion or Appetite of his own. The first Step he
 “ made towards it, did arise from your Advice, and
 “ the Promises of your Assistance: But if the Char-
 “ ges and Accidents of the War have out-gone all
 “ your Supplies, and left him under the Burden of
 “ this Debt, he thinks that as well the Justice to
 “ your Promise, as the Duty and Loyalty you have
 “ always shewed him, will oblige you to relieve
 “ him from it: And the rather, when you shall si-
 “ ouſly consider, how uneasy this Burden must be
 “ unto him, and what ill Consequences the Conti-
 “ nuance under it must draw upon all his Affairs; in
 “ which particular you, and every Person you rep-
 “ resent in this Nation, will be concerned, as well as
 “ himself. His Majesty doth therefore command me
 “ in

“ in his Name, to desire you once more, and to
 “ conjure you, by that constant Duty and Loyalty
 “ which you have always expressed to him, and by
 “ all the Concernment you have for the Support of
 “ the Honour and Safety of his Government to pro-
 “ vide such a Supply for him at this Time, as may
 “ bear Proportion with the pressing Occasions that
 “ he hath, and to the State of his Affairs at home
 “ and abroad; and so speedily and effectually, as
 “ may answer the Ends for which he hath desired it.
 “ His Majesty hath further commanded me to put
 “ you in Mind of what was at your last Meeting
 “ proposed to you, concerning an *Union between the*
 “ *two Kingdoms*, and to let you know, that the Par-
 “ liament of Scotland hath since declared to his Ma-
 “ jesty, *That such Commissioners as his Majesty shall*
 “ *name, shall be authorized on their Part, to treat*
 “ *with Commissioners for this Kingdom upon the Grounds*
 “ *and Conditions of the Union.* His Majesty therefore
 “ thought it fit now again to recommend it unto
 “ you, to take that Matter effectually into your
 “ Consideration”.

One must have been very hard-hearted not to be
 touched with this moving Story of the King's Wants
 after he had so gloriously finished a War against Hol-
 land, for which the Parliament had allowed him no
 more than Five Millions Five Hundred and Fifty
 Thousand Pounds Sterling, and 310000 l. since the
 Peace. Therefore the Commons to give effectual Marks
 of their Affection for the King, and of their Reliance
 on the Truth of every Syllable of the Keeper's Speech,
 voted the King a Supply capable to deliver him from
 the heavy Burden under which he laboured. For
 this Purpose they prepared two Bills, one to lay a
 Duty upon all Wines and Vinegar imported into the King-
 dom, from the 1st of June 1670, to the 1st of June
 1678; the other, for the Advancing the Sale of his
 Majesty's Fee-Farm Rents, and other Rents. The first,
 upon a Computation made, would produce 560,000 l.
 Sterling,

*A large
 Supply
 granted to
 the King.*

1669-70. *Sterling*, the other a Sum double to that. So that the King might depend upon receiving from these two *Bills*, about Seventeen Hundred Thousand Pounds. Thus the King received for this glorious War with *Holland*, Seven Millions Seven Hundred and Sixty Thousand Pounds *Sterling*, which amount to Eighty-two Millions Five Hundred and Sixty Thousand *Dutch Florins*. Nevertheless there are some *English* Writers who seem to triumph that this War cost the States Forty Millions.

The King
conciles
the two
Houses.

The Quarrel between the two Houses reviving in this Session, the King, apprehensive of the Consequences of it, called both Houses to *Whitehall*, and proposed to them an Expedient for an Accommodation. This was to say no more of the Difference, but to raze all *Entries* and *Records*, *Votes* and *Resolutions* concerning the Business of the *East-India* Company and *Skinner*, which was agreed to, and so the Dispute was at an End.

Address
against
Non-Con-
formists,
and Pa-
pists.

This Agreement produced an Address presented jointly to the King by both Houses the 11th of *March*, to pray him to issue out his Orders for the Suppression of *Conventicles* held by *Non-conformists*, and more especially in the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and to have an Eye to the strict Execution of the Law against *Popish Recusants*. The King answered, that effectual Course should be taken in both Cases.

1670.
Divers
Acts.

The 11th of *April* the King came to the House, and passed Twelve *Acts*, two of which were for the Money-*Bills* before-mentioned, and a Third for the Suppression of *seditious Conventicles* — The Substance of this last was that, “ If any Persons upwards of
“ Sixteen should be present at any *Assembly*, *Conven-*
“ *ticle*, or *Meeting*, under Colour or Pretence of any
“ Exercise of Religion, in any other manner than
“ according to the *Liturgy* and *Practice* of the Church
“ of *England*, where there was Five Persons or more,
“ besides those of the Household; in such Cases
“ Offenders were to pay Five Shillings for the first
“ Offence, and Ten for the second. And the *Pre-*

One a-
gainst
Conven-
ticles.

“ *ers and Teachers* in any such *Meetings* were to forfeit Twenty Pounds for the first, and Forty for the second Offence. And lastly, those who suffered any such *Conventicles* in their Houses, Barns, Yards, &c. were likewise to forfeit Twenty Pounds”. The greatest Part of the *English* Historians, who are most attached to the Church of *England*, endeavour to excuse the Severity of this *Act*, by saying, that Politicks, and the Care of the Government were more concerned in it than Religion. But this is always by the Means of the general Name of *Non-conformists*, under which the *Presbyterians* were comprehended, though since the King’s Restoration, they had never been engaged with the other *Sects* in any Insurrection, or ill Designs against the Government.

After these *Acts* were passed, the King adjourned the Houses to the 24th of *October*. *Parliament adjourned.*

It seems that hitherto the King had Reason to be pleased with a Parliament, which besides a standing Revenue of Twelve Hundred Thousand Pounds *Sterling*, had granted him for the single War with *Holland*, more than Seven Millions and a half, without including so many other extraordinary Sums granted him before the War. This Parliament supposing the King a zealous Member of the *Protestant*-Church of *England* only desired two Things, which upon that Supposition could give him no manner of Trouble. The one was to come into their Views and Measures for the Destruction of the *Presbyterians*; the other to put it out of the Power of the *Papists* to give any farther Uneasiness to the *Protestants*. On the other Hand, the Parliament might justly suppose that after they had carried the Royal Prerogative so high, the King had Reason to be pleased, and would concur with every Expedient necessary to preserve a happy Union with a Parliament so devoted to him. It is certain, that if the King had entirely complied with the Parliament in these two Articles, and confined himself with Regard to his own Authority within

1670.

*The King's
Designs.*

within the large Bounds which the Parliament seemed to set him, he might have spent his Days with more Happiness, Tranquillity, and Plenty, than any of his Predecessors. But the Parliament being mistaken in their Supposition, it is by no Means surprising, that the King would not enter into their Views. Instead of being zealous for the *Protestant Religion*, his Intent was to overturn it: Instead of having any Thought of destroying the *Presbyterians*, his Design was to be very indulgent to them, in order to have an Opportunity and Pretence to be so to the *Papists*: Instead of being content with the Power with which the Parliament had invested him, he thought it unbecoming a King to found the Extent of his Authority upon *Acts* of Parliament only. Besides, it was a great Mortification to him to see himself obliged to demand Money, and to use for that Purpose Pretences notoriously false, though the Parliament seemed to be satisfied with them. It would have been more agreeable to him to say *It is my Will and Pleasure*, than to see himself obliged to descend to low Intreaties, and a servile Courtship of the *Commons*. This his Favourites were continually suggesting to him, and this the Example of what he had himself seen practised in neighbouring *States* strongly prompted him to. He was therefore impatient to free himself from the Restraints put upon him by his Parliament, and the rather, as by augmenting his Power, he should be more able to countenance the *Papists*, and introduce their Religion, which was his own as well as his Brother's. But if Father Orleans the Jesuit is to be credited, these were not the Motives which prevailed with the King to take other Resolutions——— *It was*, according to that Father, *only the Indignation which his Ministers had to see a Republican Spirit so triumphant in the Parliament, and the Insults it daily put upon the Royal Authority. Amongst other Considerations the Triple Alliance into which the Republican-Cabal had forced the King, contrary to his Inclination, appeared to them in*

*Extract
from Fa-
ther Orle-
ans's His-
tory.*

and i-

audacious Usurpation upon the Royal Prerogative, the Consequences of which were to be prevented. Fired with these Resentments, they persuaded the King to render himself Absolute in pursuance of the Rights of his Crown, and the Laws of the Kingdom; to confine the Parliament within the Bounds prescribed by immemorial Custom, and not to suffer an unnatural Mixture of a Republick with a Monarchy, which the Subject had introduced by Violence and Incroachments, for fear this Mixture should in Time produce a monstrous Anarchy, and expose England to a horrible Confusion, like that from whence she was so lately delivered.

I shall take no Notice of the slender Foundation on which this Writer ascribes a *Republican* Spirit to this Parliament; nor of the Force put upon the King with relation to the *Triple-Alliance* by the pretended *Republican-Cabal*; nor of the Maxims which he lays down with respect to the Constitution of the *English* Government. Every unbiassed Reader, *He aims to* I imagine, is capable to see clearly the Weakness of *be absolute* this Reasoning. But since Father Orleans himself says that he had his Informations from James II, with relation to the Reign of the King his Brother and his own, I believe this Historian's Word may be taken that at the Time I am speaking of, Charles had come to a Resolution of rendering himself absolute. This is a Truth which is always to be remembred, if we desire to have a perfect Knowledge of the Events of this Reign.

This Resolution being taken, the King easily saw that the Execution of it required an artful and cautious Conduct, and was to be managed at first by secret and imperceptible Methods, which would not too plainly discover his Intentions: For he could not suppose that the People of *England* would immediately give up their Liberties and Privileges meerly because he had a mind to be Absolute. It was therefore necessary to lead them to it insensibly and by Degrees, and for that Purpose there was need of a Secret Council composed of very few Persons, but *The King establishes a Council which is called the Cabal.* entirely

1670.

entirely devoted to him, and concerned equally with him in the Success of his Scheme. The ordinary Council consisting of Twenty-one Persons, was by no Means proper to conduct this Affair; for besides that some Counsellors had a Right to their Places, as for Instance the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; it was too difficult to engage so many Persons of the first Rank in such a Plot upon their Country. To effect therefore this Undertaking with the more Caution, the King established a Cabinet-Council of Five Persons only, viz.

Clifford,
Arlington,
Buckingham,
Ashley,
Lauderdale.

As the Initial Letters of these Five Names composed the Word C A B A L, this secret Council was from thence called *the Cabal*. But before I proceed to the Resolution taken by this Council, it will be necessary to give a brief Character of the Members.

*Character
ers of the
Counsellors.
Clifford.*

Sir *Thomas Clifford*, according to *Father Orleans*, only wanted a Stage, where sound Reason and Virtue were more in Request than they were then in *England*, to appear Superiour to the others. He was a declared *Papist*, and known for such; so that he took no Pains to disguise his Religion. He it was who, after the *Triple-Alliance* was concluded, said — *Notwithstanding all this Noise, we must yet have another War with Holland*. As the Event justified his Prediction, there is great likelihood that the Scheme I have just mentioned, was then formed, and that he was in the Secret.

*Earl of
Arlington.*

Henry Bennet Earl of *Arlington*, Secretary of State, passed for a Man of a less Genius than any of the other Four; but this was well supplied by his great Experience, and Insight into foreign Affairs. It is pretended that being one of the King's Retinue in his

Journey to *Fontarabia* in the Year 1659, he was the principal Instrument to induce him to a Change of his Religion; however that be, he was truly a *Catholic*, though, with the King, he outwardly made Profession of the *Protestant* Religion: This is a Truth which is now universally owned.

1670.

The Duke of *Buckingham*, the King's Favourite, had a great deal of Wit. He might have made an able Minister of State, would his strong Passion for Pleasures and all sorts of Debauches have allowed him any Application to Affairs. But nothing could tempt him to quit a dissolute Life, to which he had accustomed himself from his Youth. He gloried besides in having no Religion, and was reckoned a downright *Atheist*. Such a Favourite reflected no great Honour on the King *.

Duke of
Buckingham.

Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, created two Years afterwards Earl of *Shaftsbury*, was one of the greatest Genius's that *England* had beheld of a long Time. This is the Testimony given him both by Friends and Enemies. Father *Orleans* gives the following Character of him,---“ He was the most capable of
“ the Five to manage any important Enterprize,
“ and was the Soul of this I am now speaking of.
“ He had a vast Genius; was penetrating, daring,
“ and equally firm to his Purpose whether right or
“ wrong; a constant Friend, but an implacable Enemy,
“ and so much the more dangerous in his
“ Enmity, as being void of all Religion and Conscience.
“ Plots cost him nothing, being neither deterred by the Number or Enormity of his Crimes
“ when he judged them necessary to preserve himself in Power, or destroy those who had unpardonably incurred his Hatred.” By the way, I observe here that this Character of the Earl of *Shafts-*

Earl of
Shaftsbury.

* *Burnet* says farther of him, That he had the Art of turning Persons and Things into Ridicule beyond any Man of his Age: He possessed the King when Abroad with very ill Principles, both as to Religion and Morality, and with a very mean Opinion of his Father King *Charles I.*, whose Stiffness was with him a frequent Subject of Railery, p. 52.

bury is not founded upon what he had done before his admission into the Cabinet-Council, but upon what he did afterwards. For leaving the King's Party for that of the People and Parliament, the *Royalists* ascribed to his single Intrigues all the Troubles which afterwards happened. Mr. *Lock* speaks otherwise of him: It is true indeed that he says nothing Advantageous of him in respect of Religion. But however this be, if his Character is such as it is given by Father *Orleans*, it is easy to see what Sort of Men the King wanted for the Execution of his Designs *.

Duke of
Lauder-
dale.

The Duke of *Lauderdale* was the most proper of all the Five to serve the King in this Affair. In order to acquaint the Reader with the Character of a Man who had so great a Share in the Affairs of *England* and *Scotland* in this Reign, I shall lay before him the Characters given of him by Father *Orleans*, Mr. *Echard*, and Dr. *Burnet* Bishop of *Salisbury*.

The first contents himself with saying That the Duke of *Lauderdale*, Secretary of State in *Scotland*, was a subtle Man, and a very able Politician.

Mr. *Echard* says of the Duke---- “ The Enlarg-
“ ing of the King's Power, and Grandour in this
“ Kingdom, was much owing to the Management
“ of the present Commissioner *Lauderdale*, who had
“ formerly been as much for depressing, as he was
“ now

* *Burnet* says of him, That as to Religion he was a *Deist* at best; He had a wonderful Faculty in speaking to a popular Assembly, and a particular Talent to make others trust to his Judgement. He had the Art of governing Parties, and making himself Head of them. He was good at opposing and running Things down, but had not the like Force in building up. He had a general knowledge of the slighter Parts of Learning, but understood little to the Bottom. He pretended *Oliver Cromwell* offered to make him King. He was indeed of great use to him in withstanding the *Fashuists* of that Time. His Strength lay in the Knowledge of *England*, and of all the considerable Men in it. He knew the Sins of their Understandings and their Tempers, and how to apply himself dexterously to them. He often changed Sides, and gloried in doing it at the properest Season. But his Reputation was at last so low, that he dyed in good Time for his Family and Party, p. 5.

“ now for exalting the Prerogative. From the
 “ Time of his Commission the *Scots* are said to cal-
 “ culate the Date of all the ensuing Inconveniences
 “ in this and the following Reign. For having there
 “ undertaken to make the King's Power absolute
 “ and arbitrary, he strained the Royal Prerogative
 “ to all kinds of Excesses ; and assumed to himself
 “ a sort of lawless Administration of Affairs, the
 “ Exercise of which was supposed to be granted to
 “ him upon the large Promises he had made : And
 “ more apprehending other Men's officious interfe-
 “ ring than distrusting his own Abilities, he, in
 “ time, took Care to make himself his Majesty's
 “ sole Informer, as well as his sole Secretary, and
 “ by that Means, not only upon Pretence of the
 “ King's Prerogative, the Affairs of *Scotland* were
 “ disposed of in the Court of *England*, without any
 “ Notice taken of the King's Council in *Scotland* ;
 “ but strict Observation was also made of all *Scotch*-
 “ Men that came to the *English* Court ; and to at-
 “ tempt an Address and Access to his Majesty other-
 “ wise than by *Lauderdale's* Mediation, was to hazard
 “ his perpetual Resentment. By these Ways he gradu-
 “ ally made himself the almost only significant Person
 “ of the whole *Scottish* Nation ; and in *Scotland* it-
 “ self, procured to himself that sovereign Authori-
 “ ty, as to name the Privy-Counsellors, to place
 “ and remove the Lords of *the Session* and *Exchequer*,
 “ to grant Gifts and Pensions, to levy and disband
 “ Forces, to appoint General Officers, and to trans-
 “ act all Matters of Importance.”

This lets us see with a Witness the Satisfaction
 which the King had in the absolute Power carried
 on in his Name in *Scotland*, and consequently that he
 would have been glad to have enjoyed the like in
England.

If I should transcribe every Thing said of the Duke
 of *Lauderdale* by Dr. *Burnet*, I should fear to be
 too tedious in saying so much of one Man, and
 therefore shall content my self with pitching upon

1670: Commerce, which had been made use of with so good Success in the late War. "But, adds Father Orleans, *The true Reason of making this War upon Holland, was the secret Negotiations carried on by the Republicans of England with the Dutch, who were incessantly inciting them to Rebellion, and to shake off the Yoke of Monarchy, with assurance of Assistance if they would begin the Attempt.*"----This seems to contradict what that Author had advanced a few Lines before, namely, that the true Ground of this War was to furnish the King with a Pretext for raising an Army. The Contradiction nevertheless disappears, when it is considered that the King and the Cabal had two Views which went Hand in Hand, and formed properly but one Design. This was to introduce an arbitrary Government, and to extirpate the Protestant Religion. As it could not be expected that the *English* would tamely give up their Religion and Liberty without any Resistance, it was natural to begin with depriving them of the only Assistance they had to depend upon, by falling upon the *Dutch*, and rendering them incapable to succour *England*. The *English Republicans* therefore, as they are called by Father Orleans, were no other than those who, it was supposed, would withstand the King's Designs, whether *Episcopalians* or *Presbyterians*, or the *Republicans* properly so called. It is therefore clear, that the true Reason of making War upon the *States*, was as much the putting it out of their Power to be assisting to the *English*, as to have a Pretence for raising Forces; and that this was but one and the same Reason.

The King makes a secret Alliance with France.

Some Time before, Mr. Colbert de Croissy, the French Ambassador at London, having sounded the King and his Ministers concerning the making strict Alliance with his Master, found them very ready to come into his Measures, especially when he had acquainted them that the Meaning of the Alliance was only to humble the Pride of the *States-General*. Indeed nothing could more promote their Design than

1670.

than the Concurrence of *France* to crush the hated and formidable Power of the *Dutch*, who alone were capable of assisting the *English*. Some pretend, that the King upon the first Motion signed a secret Treaty with *France*; but if this were so, this Treaty, in all appearance, was only in general Terms, which demanded more particular Explications. However this be, the King of *France*, to finish an Affair so happily begun, repaired to *Dunkirk* on Pretence of visiting the *Risbank* which was then raising; and carrying with him the Dutches of *Orleans* his Sister-in-Law, she took occasion from the Neighbourhood of *England* to demand Leave to visit her Brother, which was readily granted, as the Affair had been concerted before. She was met by the King at *Dover*, where she arrived the 15th of *May*, and stayed there above a Fortnight amidst continual Pleasures and Diversions. But the Commission she was charged with was executed, notwithstanding the Variety of the Entertainments. This Commission, as is pretended, was to assure the King her Brother, from his most Christian Majesty, of Force sufficient to free him from the Tyranny of the Parliament, render him absolute in his Kingdoms, and introduce *Popery*, as soon as the *States* should be sufficiently humbled. Though the Conferences between the King and his Sister were managed with great Secrecy, yet the Events which followed upon them, discovered clearly their Intention. And Abbot *Primi* and Father *Orleans* have made no Scruple to own it, excepting that Part concerning Religion, which *Popish* Authors, and some others have made Difficulty of owning for fear of justifying the Suspicions of the Parliament afterwards, and the Measures they would have taken to preserve Religion from utter Destruction.

The
Dutches
of Orleans
comes into
England.

Manages
an Alli-
ance be-
tween the
Kings of
England
and
France.

An Accident which happened shortly after might have broke the good Understanding between the Courts of *France* and *England*. The 19th of *June*, the Dutches of *Orleans* in perfect Health, called, according to Custom, for a Glass of *Succory-Water*.

Death of
the Dutches
of Orleans.

1670.

at Four in the Afternoon. She had no sooner drank it, but she found herself Ill, and her Distemper encreasing, she dyed about Two in the Morning. No Body doubted of her being poisoned, but the Author of her Death is not so unanimously agreed on, though the Duke of Orleans her Husband was by many secretly accused. The first Person who brought the melancholy News of her Death to the King, was Sir Thomas Armstrong, who told him plainly what Opinion the French in general had of the Suddenness of her Death; and added, that though he was in the Chamber of the deceased at Six the same Morning, the Stench of the Corps was so strong, that he could hardly bear the Room. The King could not help falling into Tears on the melancholy Occasion, and reproaching in the first Sallies of his Passion the Duke of Orleans in Language not common to Princes. But a Moment after, addressing himself to Sir Thomas Armstrong---Pritby, Tom, said he, do not speak of it. Shortly after arrived the Marquis of Bellefonds with the News, and to pay the Compliment of Condolence from the French King. He gave an Account of the Dutchess's Death, in the most proper manner to remove all Suspicion.

The Duke of Buckingham sent into France to conclude a Treaty with that King.

The King was soon comforted for her Loss, and not thinking that this Death, uncommon as it was, was worth the breaking, or even retarding, the Measures entered into with the Court of France, he dispatched the Duke of Buckingham to Paris, to conclude and sign the Treaty already agreed on. The Pretence with which the Duke of Buckingham covered his Journey was, his Desire, as he said, to see France, and learn the Language.

The Duke of Lorrain dispossessed of his Dutchy by the French, vainly applies for Relief to King Charles.

In September Lewis XIV made an Irruption into Lorrain by his General Marshal de Crequi. The Duke, who was taken unawares, was obliged to fly, and leave his Dutchy a Prey to the Marshal, who took Possession of it in the Name of his Master. The Duke vainly hoped for the Intercession of Charles to the King of France, in return for so much Money lent

lent and given him in his Exile, and for the Offer of his Forces for his Restoration. His Envoy was answered—*That the King was sorry for what had happened, and that the present Violence like the Mischiefs of a sudden Inundation must be endured at this time.*

The Parliament being to meet the 24th of *October*, the King a few Days before issued out a Proclamation, commanding all Officers and Soldiers serving in any of the Armies of the late usurped Powers, not having a constant Habitation, to depart out of the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and not to return again or come within Twenty Miles, till after the 10th Day of *December* next, and in the mean time to carry no Sword, Pistol, or any other Arms. This was to let the Houses see the Care which he took of their Preservation.

The Parliament met, and the King after a few Words to both Houses, left it to the Lord-Keeper to explain to them his Intentions. In all probability he durst not with his own Mouth declare Things so opposite to his Designs, and which aimed only to draw the Parliament into his Snares. He chose rather to have this done by the *Keeper*, who being not in the Secrets of the *Cabal*, might speak with greater Assurance, as he was persuaded of the Truth of what he spoke. He represented therefore in his Speech----

“ That *France* and the *States-General* are powerfully arming by Land and Sea ; are building new Ships, and filling their Magazines with all sorts of warlike Provisions. That since the Beginning of the last War with *Holland*, *France* has so increased the Number of her Ships, that her Strength by Sea is thrice as much as it was before ; and since the End of it, *Holland* has been very diligent also in augmenting her Fleets. That in such a Juncture common Prudence requires that his Majesty should make some suitable Preparations: That he has therefore given Order for the fitting out Fifty Sail of the greatest Ships against the Spring, be-

Proclamation against the old Parliament's Officers.

The Keeper's Speech to the Parliament.

“ *fides*

1670.

“ sides those which are to be for the Security of the
 “ Merchants in the *Mediterranean*, as foreseeing, if
 “ he should not have a considerable Fleet, *Tempta-*
 “ *tion* might be given to those who seem not now to
 “ intend it, to give us an *Affront*, if not to do us
 “ *Mischief*.” To this he added, “ That his Ma-
 “ jesty, by the *Leagues* he hath made for the Good of
 “ his Kingdoms, is obliged to a certain Number of
 “ Forces in case of *Infraction* thereof; as also for the
 “ Assistance of some of his Neighbours, in case of
 “ *Invasion*. And his Majesty would be in a very ill
 “ Condition to perform his Part of the *Leagues*, if
 “ while the Clouds were gathering so thick about
 “ him, he should, in hopes that the Wind would
 “ disperse them, omit to provide against the Storm”.
 He then told them, “ That his Majesty had made
 “ several *Leagues*, as the *Triple-Alliance*, another
 “ with the *States-General*, another with the Duke of
 “ *Savoy*, another with the King of *Denmark*, ano-
 “ ther with the King of *Spain*; not to mention the
 “ *Leagues* formerly made with *Sweden* and *Portu-*
 “ *gal*, nor those *Treaties* now depending between his
 “ Majesty and *France*, or between him and the
 “ *States-General* touching Commerce; wherein his
 “ Majesty will have a single Regard to the *Honour*
 “ of this Nation, and also to the *Trade* of it, which
 “ never was greater than now it is”. He added,
 “ That his Majesty finds by his Accounts from the
 “ Year 1660 to the late War, the ordinary Charge
 “ of the Fleet *Communibus Annis*, came to above Five
 “ Hundred Thousand Pounds a Year. If that par-
 “ ticular alone takes up so much, the Revenue will
 “ in no degree suffice to take off the Debts due up-
 “ on Interest, much less give him a Fund for setting
 “ out this Fleet, which by common Estimation can-
 “ not cost less than Eight Hundred Thousand
 “ Pounds” ----- He then intimated to them, “ That
 “ his Majesty intended they should break up at

" *Christmas*, and therefore he prayed them that all 1670.
 " Things might be ready against that Time ".*

The House of *Commons* charmed with all these great Alliances made for the Honour and Advantage of the Nation, prepared immediately three *Bills*, one to raise Eight Hundred Thousand Pounds by way of Subsidies; another to lay an additional Excise upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors for six Years; a Third for laying Impositions upon *Proceedings at Law* for Nine Years. These Three *Bills* would produce to the King Two Millions Five Hundred Thousand Pounds *sterling*. But before one *Bill* was gone through with, the King adjourned the Parliament till about the End of *January*.

The Prince of *Orange* came to *London* about the Close of the Year 1669 *1, to pay a Visit to the King his Uncle. The principal Reason of his Journey was to demand of the King the Repayment of Money lent him by the Prince his Father in the Time of his Exile. He was graciously received, and after a Stay of about three Months he returned into *Holland*.

Before his Arrival, Sir *William Temple* had been recalled from his Embassy in *Holland*. He was not a proper Tool to be employed in the Designs of the *Cabal*. Besides the Court was inclined to a speedy Rupture with the *Dutch* *2.

The

* This Speech was thought fit to be suppressed, nor is it in the Journals of the House of *Commons*.

*1 He arrived the 29th of *October* 1669, and took his Leave the 15th of *February* following.

*2 The most remarkable Person who died this Year was *Vavasor Powell*, who made a Figure amongst the Dissenters, and yet left it a Difficulty, never cleared up, what Religion he was of. He has been thought an *Anabaptist* by some, by others a *Milkenary* and *Fifth Monarchy-Man*; but was neither *Presbyterian* nor *Independent*. He preached with great Vehemency in the Woods, Mountains, Fields, Markets, and Fairs of *Wales* his native Country, He was a bold Man, and an irreconcilable Enemy to Monarchy and Episcopacy. He had opposed all the higher Powers as they came

1670-1.
Sir John
Coven-
try's bar-
ons
usage gives
occasion to
a new Act
of Parlia-
ment.

The Parliament meeting towards the latter End of January after a short Recess, the Commons began with preparing a Bill, which made it Death for any Man maliciously to disable or dismember another, to put out an Eye, to cut off a Nose or Lip, &c *. This was owing to an Attempt made upon Sir John Coventry, a Member of the Commons, in the Street, in which his Nose was slit. This had been done by the King's Order, who had committed the Execution of it to the Duke of Monmouth his natural Son, and the Duke had employed some other Persons, who, after the Deed was done, retired to his House *1.

The 14th of February the King sent a Message to the House of Commons to hasten the Money-Bills. But the House thought it proper, before the Offer of these

came uppermost; had been imprisoned by several of them, and dying a Prisoner in the Fleet, but unconquered in his Mind, he was buried in Bunhill Fields in the Presence of innumerable Dis-senters

Henry Jenkins deserves to be remembred on Account of his extreme Age. He was a poor Fisherman of Yorkshire, born in 1501, and living in the Reigns of Eight Kings and Queens of England, died this Year aged 169 Years, exceeding the famous Thomas Parr, who died 1635. full Seventeen Years.

* This was afterwards called *Coventry's Act*, from the Name of the Person that was the Occasion of it.

*1 The Persons that committed this Fact were Sir Thomas Sandys, Charles Obrian Esq; Simon Parry, and Miles Reeves, who all fled from Justice. The Reason of his Usage it seems was this. He was an Opposer of the Money-Bills, and when passed, moved the laying a Tax on the Play-Houses, which were become Nests of Prostitution. This was opposed by the Court: It was said, the Players were the King's Servants, and a Part of his Pleasure. Coventry asked, Whether did the King's Pleasure lie among the Men or Women Players? This was carried with great Indignation to Court. It was said, this was the first Time the King was personally reflected on, if it was passed over, more of the same kind would follow. Whereupon the forementioned Persons were sent to watch for Sir John, and leave a Mark upon him. He defended himself so well, that he got more Credit by it than by all the Actions of his Life. His Nose was so nicely needed up, that the Scar was hardly to be discovered. The Commons put a Clause in the Bill, that it should not be in the King's Power to pardon the Persons concerned.

these Bills to the King, to present him with an Address touching the Growth of *Popery*, and the Concurrence of the Lords was obtained. As this Address may help to illustrate the History of this Reign, there is some Necessity to insert it here at Length.

May it please your most Excellent Majesty,

We your Majesty's most humble and loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament, being sensible of your Majesty's Constancy to the Protestant Religion, both at Home and Abroad, hold our selves bound in Conscience and Duty to represent to your Majesty the Causes of the dangerous Growth of Popery in your Majesty's Dominions, the ill Consequence whereof we heartily desire may be prevented. And therefore what we humbly conceive to be some present Remedies for the said growing Mischiefs, we have hereunto added in our most humble Petitions.

The Address of both Houses against Popery.
Echard, p. 870.

Causes of the Growth of Popery.

“ 1. **T**HAT there are great Numbers of Priests and Jesuits frequenting the Cities of London and Westminster, and most of the Counties of this Kingdom, more than formerly, seducing your Majesty's good Subjects.

“ 2. That there are several Chapels, and Places used for saying of Mass in the great Towns, and many other Parts of the Kingdom, besides those in Ambassadors Houses, whither great Numbers of your Majesty's Subjects constantly resort and repair without Comptrol; and especially in the Cities of London and Westminster, contrary to the Laws established.

“ 3. That

1670-1.

“fants convict, to be put in due Execution : And in
 “the first Place, for the speedy convicting such *Popish*
 “*Recusants*, That all Judges and Justices afore-
 “said do strictly give the said Laws in Charge unto
 “the Juries at all Assizes and Sessions, under the
 “Penalty of incurring your Majesty’s highest Dis-
 “pleasure.

“2. That your Majesty would be pleased to re-
 “strain and hinder the great Concourse of your na-
 “tive Subjects from hearing of *Mass*, and other Ex-
 “ercises of the *Romish* Religion, in the Houses of
 “foreign Ambassadors or Agents, and in all other
 “Chapels and Places of this Kingdom.

“3. That your Majesty would be pleased, to take
 “care, and cause, That no Office or Employment of
 “publick Authority, Trust or Command in Civil or Mi-
 “litary Affairs, be committed to, or continued in the
 “Hand of any Person being a *Popish Recusant*, or justly
 “reputed so to be.

“4. That your Majesty would be pleased to take
 “notice of all *Fraternities* or *Convents* of *English*,
 “and other *Popish* Priests, Jesuits or Fryars, and
 “Schools for the educating of Youth in the Principles
 “of Popery, erected within your Majesty’s Domi-
 “nions, and to cause the same to be abolished, and
 “the said Priests, Jesuits, Fryars, and Schoolmasters
 “to be duly punished for such their Insolences.

“5. That your Majesty would be pleased from
 “time to time to require and cause, That all the
 “Officers of, or relating to the *Exchequer*, issue
 “forth Processes effectually against *Popish* Re-
 “cants convict certified thither. And that such
 “Officers as shall refuse or neglect to do their Duty
 “as aforesaid, be severely punished for such their
 “Failures.

“6. That your Majesty would be pleased to give
 “Order for apprehending and bringing over unto
 “England one *Plunket*, who goes under the Name
 “of the Primate of Ireland, and one *Peter Talbot*,
 “who takes on him the Name of *Archbishop* of
 Dublin,

“ *Dublin*, to answer such Matters as shall be objected 1670-1.
 “ against them.”

The King replied to this Address, that he would do what was required of him ; but that he hoped no Person would wonder if he made a Difference between those *Papists* that had newly changed their Religion, and those that were bred up in it, and had faithfully served him and his Father in the late Wars. A few Days after the King published a Proclamation, which ran much in the same Stile with those that had been put out before on this Occasion, and was no better observed. From the Beginning of the Reign of *James I.*, to the Conclusion of that of *Charles II.*, the same Method had always been practised. These three Kings had never made any Scruple to answer the Instances of the Parliament to prevent the Growth of *Popery*, with Assurances of complying with their Request, and with publishing Proclamations for that purpose ; but the Publication and the Execution were two Things.

I shall observe by the way That in the Beginning of the Civil Wars *Charles I.*, positively denied that he had any *Papists* in his Service. But *Charles II.* his Son in this Answer, not only owns it publicly, but even says, that in Consideration of the great Services performed by the *Papists* to his Father and himself in the Civil Wars, he is obliged to give them Marks of his Favour. *A Reflection.*

This Affair being ended, the *Commons* went upon the three Money *Bills* before-mentioned ; and as if these had not been sufficient to supply the King's extreme Wants, they afterwards added a fourth to lay an additional Duty upon several *Foreign Commodities*. These *Bills* being sent up to the Lords, were debated in their House. On the second Reading of the *Subsidy-Bill*, the Lord *Lucas* rose up, and in presence of the King, who was then in the House, (where he frequently came without any Formality) made a Speech which was very disagreeable to his Majesty.

1670-1. I cannot think it necessary to insert this Speech at length, but however shall give some Passages of it, to let the Reader see the Sentiments of Numbers, though few had the Boldness of the Lord Lucas to make an open Declaration of them.

*The Lord
Lucas's
warm
Speech
concerning
Subsidies.*

He first complained, " That whereas it was the
 " Hopes of all good Men that the King would procure Ease to his Subjects, their Burthens were
 " more heavy than ever, whilst their Strength was
 " diminished, and so they were less able to support
 " them—that if the vast Sums given had been all
 " employed for the King and Kingdom, it would
 " not have so much troubled him and others : But
 " that the Nation could not without infinite Regret
 " of Heart see so great a Part of the Money pound-
 " ed up in the Purses of a few private Men, who in
 " the Time of his Majesty's most happy Restoration
 " were worth little or nothing, but were now pur-
 " chasing Lands, and kept their Coaches and six
 " Horses, their Pages, and their Lacqueys ; while
 " in the mean Time those that had faithfully served
 " the King were exposed to Penury and Want, and
 " had scarce sufficient left to buy them Bread. But
 " supposing all the Money given had been employ-
 " ed for the Use of his Majesty, and that he was not
 " cozened, as without doubt he was, yet ought there
 " to be no Bounds, no Moderation in giving ? Will
 " it be said, that his Majesty will not be able to
 " maintain the *Triple-Alliance* without a plentiful
 " Supply, and that the Nation will run the Hazard of
 " being conquered : This may be a Reason for giving
 " something, but it is so far from being an Argu-
 " ment for giving so much, that it may be clearly
 " made out, *That it is the direct and ready way to be*
 " *conquered by a Foreigner.* And it may be the Poli-
 " cy of the *French King*, by his often Alarms of Ar-
 " mies and Fleets to induce us to consume our Treas-
 " ure in vain Preparations against him ; and after he
 " has by this means made us poor and weak enough,
 " he may then come upon, and destroy us. It is
 " not

" not the giving a great deal, but the well managing
 " the Money given that must keep us safe from our
 " Enemies — Besides, what is this but *ne moriari*
 " *mori*, to dye for fear of dying, and for fear of be-
 " ing conquered by a Foreigner, to put ourselves in
 " a Condition almost as bad? Nay, in some Respects
 " a great deal worse: For when we are under the
 " Power of the Victor, we know we can fall no
 " lower, and the Certainties of our Miseries are some
 " sort of Diminution of them; But in this wild way
 " we have no Certainty at all; for if you give thus
 " much to Day, you may give as much to Morrow,
 " and never leave giving till we have given all that
 " ever we have away — It is therefore necessary to
 " make some Estimate of our selves: Would his Ma-
 " jesty be pleased to have a Quarter of our Estates?
 " For my Part he shall have it: Would he be plea-
 " sed to have Half? For my Part upon good Occa-
 " sions he shall have it: But then let us have some
 " Assurances of the quiet Enjoyment of the Remain-
 " der, and know what we have to trust to — The
 " Commons have here sent up a *Bill* for the giving
 " his Majesty the Twentieth Part of our Estates,
 " and I hear there are other *Bills* also preparing,
 " which together will amount to little less than three
 " Millions of Money, a prodigious Sum! And such,
 " that if your Lordships afford no Relief, we must
 " sink under the Weight of it. I hope therefore
 " your Lordships will set some Bounds to the over-
 " liberal Humour of the Commons. If you cannot
 " deny or moderate a *Bill* for Money, all your great
 " Estates are wholly at their Disposal, and you have
 " nothing that you can properly call your own —
 " Upon the whole Matter, I most humbly propose
 " that you would be pleased to reduce the twelve
 " Pence in the Pound to eight Pence."

This Speech, afterwards printed and published, was so offensive to the King and his Ministers, that it was ordered to be burnt by the Hands of the Common-

*Is burnt
by the
Hangman.*

1670 1. Hangman. But this did not prevent its making some Impression upon the Lords, who sent the *Bill* to the *Commons* with *Amendments*; that is to say, with some Alterations made in it. This occasioned a Dispute between the two Houses, the *Commons* refusing absolutely to receive the *Amendments*. But in a Conference the Difference was ended by the Acquiescence of the Lords to the Reasons of the *Commons*. The two first Money-Bills, the additional Tax upon Beer, and other Liquors, being ready, the King came to the House of Lords the 6th of *March*, and passed these two Acts, with another to invest the Power of granting *Wine-Licences* in his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, and for settling a Revenue on his Royal Highness in lieu thereof, who received from this Privilege Twenty-four Thousand Pounds a Year.

Money-
Bills pas-
sed.

Difference
between
the two
Houses.

There were still behind two more Money Bills, which had been sent to the Lords, one for *Impositions* on *Proceedings at Law*, and another for an additional *Imposition upon several foreign Commodities*. The first Bill passed the House of Lords without any Difficulty. But the second occasioned a violent Contest between the two Houses. The *London Merchants* having presented a Petition to the Lords, in which they shewed the Disproportion of the *Rates* imposed upon certain Commodities to be such as would utterly ruin the whole Trade of these Commodities, and bring an irreparable Prejudice upon all the *English Plantations*, and consequently upon the Kingdom. This gave the Lords Room to think that they had a Right to make Alterations in the *Bill*, to lower some Rates, accordingly they sent the *Bill* to the *Commons* with several *Amendments*. The *Commons* maintained that the Lords had no Right to make any *Amendments* in *Bills of Impositions and Rates*, and that they could only receive or reject them as they were sent, and the Lords asserted the contrary. This Dispute produced several Conferences, in which the two Houses mutually communicated their Reasons, Answers, and Replies. It would be too long to enter into the Discus-

sion

sion of this Difference, which besides would be but little understood by those who have not a thorough Knowledge of the Constitution of *English* Parliaments. I shall therefore only relate one Particular of it, which is Intelligible to every Body, and wherein consisted, as it were, the Essence of the whole Dispute. The *Commons* maintained that by a *Fundamental Right*, it belonged to their House to impose *Rates* upon Merchandize. They understood by this *Fundamental Right*, the *Usage* and Custom of Parliament in the Time of *Charles I.* The Lords after the Example of *Charles I.*, demanded of the *Commons*, Where was the *Record* or *Contract* to be found, by which the Lords divested themselves of this *Right*, and appropriated it to the *Commons*, with an Exclusion to themselves? To this the *Commons* replied by another Question, Where was the *Record* by which the *Commons* submitted that *Judicature* should be appropriated to the Lords in Exclusion of themselves? Wherever their Lordships should find the last *Record*, they will shew the first indorsed upon the Back of the same Roll. In short, the King perceiving that the Contest daily grew warmer, came to the House of Peers, and after the Royal Assent given to an *Act* for laying Impositions upon *Proceedings at Law*, and some others, he prorogued the Parliament to the 16th of *April*, and afterwards by divers Prorogations to the 4th of *February* 1672-3. So that this Prorogation continued one Year and nine Months.

*A long
Prorogation
of the
Parliament.*

In all probability every Reader will be surprized at the excessive Liberality of the *Commons* to the King, and especially at that of this Session. With regard to former Liberalities, it may be said, that they had some Foundation true or false. But this which exceeded all the rest was founded merely upon a Contingency which had not the least likelihood. For it wholly leant upon a Supposition that *France* and the *States-General*, who were making great Preparations, might fall upon *England*, if they found her unprovided for a Defence, though she was then in Peace with

*Reflections
upon the
Liberality
of the
Commons.*

1670. *France*, and in strict Alliance with *Holland*. Besides, the *States* had hitherto made no extraordinary Preparations, because they had no Apprehension of being attacked. And as to *France*, the King well knew that he had nothing to fear from that Quarter. Nevertheless upon a bare Proposition from him, supported by no manner of Probability, a Sum of two Millions and a half was granted him, which according to some even amounted to three Millions. Nothing is more proper to shew the Probability of what is asserted by so many Authors, that scarce one Member, however inconsiderable, was without a Pension from the King, in Proportion to the Influence he had in the House, and that these Pensions were increased according to the Sums granted to the King. Thus much is certain, that afterwards upon an Inquiry it was found that some however were guilty of this Prevarication.

Death of
the Dutch-
ess of
York.

Before we proceed, we must not forget the Death of *Anne Hyde* Dutchess of *York*, Daughter to the Earl of *Clarendon*, the late Chancellor. She died the 31st of *March*, in the 31st Year of her Age, after having abjured the *Protestant* Religion during the Time of her long Indisposition. From her Marriage proceeded eight Children, two of which only survived her; *Mary* and *Anne*, who were successively Queens of *England*. The rest all died in their Infancy*.

The Duke
of York
formally
abjures the
Protestant-
Religion.

The Duke of *York* was a *Papist* before the King's Restoration, but I no where find at what Time he changed his Religion. The Thing was a Secret for some Time; but had now for some Years been so divulged, that it became the Publick Talk of the Court and Kingdom. At last, soon after the Death of his Dutchess, he made a formal Abjuration of the *Protestant*-

* Their Names were, *Charles* born *October* 22, 1660. *Mary* *April* 30th. 1662. *James*, *July* 12, 1663. *Ann*, *February* 6th. 1664. *Charles*, *July* 4th, 1666. *Edgar*, *September* 14th, 1667. *Henrietta*, *January* 13th, 1668. And *Katharine*, *February* 9th, 1670. Three of the Sons and one Daughter died before their Mother, and *Edgar* and *Katharine* shortly after.

testant-Religion before Father *Simon* an *English* Jesuit, and from that Time he declared himself a *Papist* openly. The Reason which, as it is said, induced him to make this Publick Declaration of his Religion was this : The King had for some Years, even before the Chancellor's Disgrace, entertained some secret Thoughts of putting away the Queen, for whom he never had any Affection. He had communicated this Design to some of his Confidants ; but was always opposed in it by the Earl of *Clarendon*, whether from a Sense of the Injustice of the Thing, or for the sake of the Dutcheſs of *Tork* his Daughter, and her Posterity. After the Removal of that Minister, the King finding himself more at Liberty, persisted in the Design of his Divorce ; and, as is assured, was encouraged in it by the *Papists*, and had the Approbation of the Court of *Rome* it self. For a Pretence to this Divorce, a Pre-engagement of the Queen's before her Marriage was to be made use of ; but it was not said with whom. It was likewise pretended that she was incapable of having any Children. though she had twice miscarried. But as these Facts were of very difficult Proof, the King was assisted with a Pretext more plausible. This was to lay Snares for the poor Queen, so as to have her found alone in certain Places, and with certain Persons, which might have afforded Grounds for an Accusation of Adultery. But the King could not be prevailed with to make use of a Method so unjust in it self, and so dishonourable to him. Nevertheless the Thing was resolved on, and as a Pretence was only wanted, they would not have failed to devise one capable of producing the desired Effect. The *Priests* and *Jesuits* who were continually about the Duke of *York*, pressed him for some Time past to make an open Profession of the *Roman-Catholick*-Religion. But they had not yet been able to succeed, because the Duke saw clearly that such a Profession would make him forfeit the Affection of the greatest Part of the *English* Nation. At last, upon the Duke of *York*'s Refusal,

1671. they went roundly to work upon the Affair of the Divorce, and proceeded so far, that it is assured the Pope promised his Consent. When the Business was brought thus far, they gave the Duke of *York* to understand, that they were able either to effect or hinder the King's Divorce, and that they would undertake the latter on Condition he would make an open Profession of the *Catholic* Religion. This, as is pretended, engaged him to declare himself a *Papist*, being apprehensive that if the King should be divorced from his Queen, he might marry a second Time, and have Legitimate Children. I relate these Particulars as I found them in the Histories and Memoirs of these Times; but I must warn the Reader that those who have delivered them for Fact give no other Proof of them than their own naked Testimony*.

and makes
an open
Profession
of the Po-
pish.

Projects of the Cabal. After the Prorogation of the Parliament, the *Cabal* was with the greatest earnestness intent upon the Execution of their Projects. These were, first, to render the King *Absolute*, or in their Language, a *Great Prince*: Under which was comprized the Establishment of *Popery*, if not the entire Destruction of the *Protestant* Religion. For there is no visible Medium between these two Things.

The King
endea-
vours to
amuse the
States Ge-
neral.

I have already given the Reason why the Article of Religion is omitted by the Partizans of the King. The second Project was the breaking the *Triple-Alliance*. The third a War with *Holland*, though it was difficult to invent any the least plausible Pretexts. To execute the two last, Sir *Henry Coventry*, who had been Plenipotentiary at the Treaty of *Breda*, was dispatched to *Sweden*, and Sir *George Downing* to the *Hague*. I have taken Notice that *Temple* had been recalled; but to amuse the *States*, the King feigned

* *Burnet* says, the Duke of *Buckingham* offered That if the King would give him leave he would steal the Queen away, and send her to a Plantation where she should be well looked after. But the King himself rejected this Proposal with Horreur. P. 263.

feigned that he had only called *Temple* to Court to be informed of some Matters, and that he should be immediately sent back. He was notwithstanding still in *London*, and though the King had no Thought to send him again to *Holland*, yet to take away all Suspicion from the *Dutch* that he had any Intention of breaking with them, he had hitherto refused his Permission to Sir *William* to send for his Wife and Family. At last, he was openly recalled, and obtained Leave for his Wife and Children to come over who were still at the *Hague*. The recalling *Temple*, and sending *Downing* in his Place was sufficient to discover the King's Intentions without any open Declaration of them. The first was extremely beloved in *Holland*, as he had always behaved with Integrity, and with a Zeal for the common Interests of both Nations. The second had been the Tool to engage the King and the *States* in the late War, and was looked upon in *Holland* as a Man void of all Honesty, and a downright Incendiary. When therefore the *States* understood that he was coming to them in the room of *Temple*, they no longer doubted that a Rupture was intended by *England*. Mean while *Downing* being arrived at the *Hague*, was not wanting in Protestations that the King his Master was resolved to maintain the *Triple-Alliance*, and that if he was equipping a Fleet, it was wholly owing to the great Preparations making by his Neighbours, and particularly the King of *France*, of whom he had just Cause to be jealous. But withal, he failed not to complain of the Obstinacy of the *Dutch*, upon an Affair of little Consequence, concerning the Colony of *Surinam*; to this Complaint he threw in others from the *English* Merchants against the *Dutch East-India-Company*. These were the two Articles on which the King intended to found a Rupture; but as he did not think them of Weight enough, he projected to draw the *States* into a sort of Insult on himself, which might give him a more plausible Pretence for a War.

1671.

*A Yatcht
belonging
to the King
fired at the
Dutch, so
enrage
them so
strike the
Flag.*

To this End, the King having granted Sir *William Temple* a Yatcht to bring over his Lady, the Admiralty gave expresse Orders to the Captain to go in quest of the *Dutch Fleet*, then at Sea, and if they refused to strike, to fire upon them. The Captain met with them as he was returning with the Ambassadress and her Children on board. When he saw that the Fleet paid no Regard to the King's Yatcht, he fired several Shots at them. Mr. *de Ghent*, who commanded the Fleet, surprized at this mad Insult, sent a Boat to the Yatcht to know the Meaning of it. The Captain returned no other Answer than that he had his Instructions, and very well knew what he did. Upon this, Mr. *de Ghent* went to the Yatcht on pretence of paying a Compliment to the Ambassadress, and after that was over, he talked with the Captain, and was answered as before. The Admiral replied, that he had no Orders from his Masters in that Point, and did not know how the Affair was agreed between his Majesty and the *States*; but though it were settled, the Captain could not pretend the Fleet should strike to a Yatcht, which was but a Pleasure-Boat. The Captain persisted in saying that he only followed his Orders. Nevertheless the Fleet fired not one single Shot at the Yatcht, and the Captain pursued his Course, pleased that he had come off so well.

*The King
receives
Money
from the
King of
France.*

Besides the Two Millions and a Half granted to the King by the Parliament, the King of *France*, if the Abbot *Primi* is to be credited, sent him a very considerable Sum to enable him to put a Fleet to Sea, which should be much superiour to that of the *States*. Thus the King turned his whole Thoughts to War, though with all possible Artifice he endeavoured to remove all Suspicion of his having any such Design. He spent the whole Summer, and the greatest Part of Autumn in visiting divers Places of his Kingdom. The 28th of *May* he celebrated the Feast of St. *George* in a very solemn Manner, and installed in the Order of the Garter the King of *Sweden*,

*An Instal-
lation at
Windfor.*

men, and the Elector of Saxony by their *Proxies*, and after them the young Duke of *Albemarle*. He visited likewise the University of *Cambridge*, where he was magnificently entertained, besides several other Places which it is needless to mention here. On his Return both their Majesties were invited to the Lord-Mayor's Feast, on the 30th of *October*, where no Cost was spared to display the Grandour and Riches of that proud City.

Before we proceed to the Transactions of the following Year, I think my self obliged to take Notice of an Attempt made in this, the most Extraordinary that ever entered into the Head of a private Man. I mean that of *Blood*, a famous Villain, Robber, and Assassin, who formed the Design of stealing the Crown, Scepter, and Globe, which were kept in the *Tower*. With the Assistance of two or three more he executed his Attempt so dextrously and happily, that they were already got out of the *Tower* with their Booty before they were stopped. To give some Account of *Blood*, I shall only say, that the Duke of *Ormond*, when he was Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, having caused some of *Blood's* Accomplices to be hanged, who intended to have seized the Castle of *Dublin*, he swore that he would revenge their Death. For this Purpose *Blood* followed the Duke of *Ormond* into *England*, when he was recalled from *Ireland*, and watched his Motions so well, that with the Assistance of Seven or Eight Persons on Horse-back, he stopped his Chariot in the Night as he was going to *Clarendon-House*, where he lodged, killed the Coachman and one of the Footmen *, and mounted the Duke on a Horse, with a Man behind him, with a Design to carry him to *Tyburn*, and hang him there with a Paper pinned on his

Blood
steals the
Crown.

* This is a Mistake. Some of the Footmen were knocked down; the Coachman and other Servants crying out gave the Alarm, and by it saved the Duke's Life. Had any Murder been committed, neither the King's Intercession, nor the Duke's Easiness to forgive, could have rescued the Villains from the Pursuit of Justice. *Eschard's Hist.* Vol. III. p. 262.

1671. his Breast, to signify the Cause of his Execution : But the Duke forcibly throwing himself off the Horse with the Person behind him, defeated the Design, and the Authors could never be discovered till after *Blood's* Attempt upon the Crown. This Attempt was very surprizing ; but the King's Conduct on that Occasion was still more extraordinary. For having a Desire to examine *Blood* himself, he ordered him to be brought to *Whitehall*, and put a great many Questions to him, which the Villain answered with surprizing Boldness, confessing all, and without any Concern delivered the Circumstances of the Thing. To the Question put to him by the King If he knew the Authors of the Attempt upon the Duke of *Ormond*, he owned himself to be the Person. Not content with this, he told he King that he had been engaged in a Design to kill him with a Carbine from out the Reeds by the *Thames-side* above *Battersea*, where he often went to swim. But that when he had taken his Stand in the Reeds for that Purpose, his Heart was checked with the Awe of Majesty, and did not only relent himself, but diverted his Associates from the Design. He told the King that he was prepared to suffer Death as he had deserved : But that he could not help telling his Majesty that he had some Hundreds of Accomplices who had bound themselves by the most horrible Oaths, to revenge the Death of any of the *Fraternity* upon those who should bring them to Justice ; which would expose his Majesty and all his Ministers to the daily Fear and Expectation of a Massacre. But on the contrary, if he spared the Lives of a few Persons, his own would be secure. The King was surprized, and probably intimidated by these Words of *Blood*, and thought, doubtless, that the Attempt of this Villain to revenge the Deaths of his Accomplices upon the Duke of *Ormond*, might very well be practised by those of his surviving Comrades in revenge of his. However this be, the King sent the Earl of *Arlington* to the Duke of *Ormond* to desire him

*Is examined by
the King.*

him not to prosecute *Blood*; which he could not refuse : Afterwards he gave him his Pardon ; and not content with giving him his Life, he settled Five Hundred Pounds a Year in Land upon him in *Ireland*. From this Time *Blood* was continually at Court, and the King treated him with that Freedom and Familiarity, that many Persons applied to him for Favours from the King. This gave a Handle to the King's Enemies to say, That he entertained this Villain about his Person, to intimidate those who should dare to offend him in Things where publick Justice could not lay hold on them, as had been done in the Case of Sir *John Coventry*, for some Raileries upon him in the House of *Commons*. As for *Edwards*, who had done so much to preserve the Crown, who was Forescore Years of Age, and had received so many Wounds, that he was left for dead ; the King contented himself with assigning him a Reward of two Hundred Pounds, the Payment of which was so long delayed, that the poor Man dyed before he received it *.

In

* *Edwards* had a Grant of Two Hundred Pounds for himself, and one Hundred for his Son. Both, by the Delays of Payment were obliged to sell their Orders for half the Money, and the Old Man lived not long to enjoy the Remainder. The Manner of *Blood's* stealing the Crown was thus : He goes to the *Tower* in a Clergyman's Habit, with a Woman whom he called his Wife, and who, he pretended, wanted to see the Crown ; and having seen it, she feigned to be taken with a Qualm, and desired Mr. *Edwards* the Keeper of the Crown to send for some Spirits, who immediately caused his Wife to fetch some, of which she drank, and being invited to repose herself on a Bed, she did so, and soon recovered. At their Departure they were very thankful for this Civility. Three Days after *Blood* comes with a Present of Gloves from his Wife, and having thus begun an Acquaintance, he improves it by frequent Visits. At last he tells Mr. *Edwards* that he had a Mind to make a Match between a Nephew of his and Mr. *Edwards's* Daughter, which Nephew, he said, had 300 l. a Year. Accordingly a Day was appointed for the young Couple to see one another. *Blood* comes with Three more, one of whom stays at the Door, and the others go in. *Blood* told Mr. *Edwards* he would not go up Stairs till his Wife came down, and desired him in the mean Time to shew his Friends the Crown, to pass away the

1671.
Deaths of
the Lord
Fairfax
and Earl of
Manchester.

In the Course of this Year dyed two famous Generals, distinguished by their Bravery and Experience in the Civil Wars. The first was the Lord *Fairfax* the Generalissimo, and the other *Edward Montague* Earl of *Manchester*. I shall say no more of them, than what I have done in the Reign of *Charles I.*, excepting that both of them were very serviceable to the King in his Restoration.

Designs a-
gainst the
Dutch.

The League against *Holland*, much like that of *Cambray* against the Common-wealth of *Venice*, was still kept so secret, that the *States* had nothing but a bare Suspicion, without any Certainty of it. The Design of the Allies was to begin with ruining their Affairs before any open Declaration of War, and then to fall upon them at one and the same Time in different Places. The King of *France*, the Elector of *Cologne*, and the Bishop of *Munster*, were to Attack them by Land, and the *English* and *French* Fleets were to join and fall upon them by Sea. This was the Project, but it met with one Difficulty which had not been foreseen. Though *Charles* had received Two Millions Five Hundred Thousand Pounds from the Parliament, and Seven Hundred Thousand Pounds from the King of *France*, he was still in Want. True indeed it is that he had applied one Part of the Money received to the Equipment of his Fleet, but that could not amount to half the Sum; and it was difficult to guess what was become of the rest. However, he signified to his Ministers

The King
indigent.

the Time. As soon as they were in the Room, and the Door shut as usual, they immediately gagged the Old Man, and knocked him down for endeavouring to make a Noise. One of the Companions put the Globe in his Breeches, *Blood* kept the Crown under his Gown, and the Third was filing the Scepter (being too long to manage) when their Companion without gave them Notice that young Mr. *Edwards* was just come Home and gone upstairs; upon which they all made off with the Crown and Globe. But Old *Edwards* getting up and making a Noise, they were pursued and taken, as they were making to their Horfes, which waited at the Iron Gate in *St. Katharines*. *Blood*, though he saw himself a Prisoner, had the Impudence to struggle for the Crown.

Ministers that he could not begin the War without Fifteen Hundred Thousand Pounds : But the Parliament being prorogued, he could not apply to them, and therefore he promised the Treasurer's Staff to the Person who should suggest the Means of raising that Sum. Sir Thomas Clifford's Invention proved the most lucky. He went to the King and told him, that by shutting up the *Exchequer* he would easily raise that and a larger Sum. The King readily understood this Advice, and resolving to make use of it, he made good his Promise, and advanced Clifford to the Post of Lord High-Treasurer. Some however have ascribed this Thought to the Lord Shaftsbury, and said that Clifford having artfully drawn it from him, challenged the Honour of it as he first communicated it to the King *.

*Is advised
to shut up
the Exchequer.*

To understand this Matter (which though plain to *English* Readers, is not so to Foreigners) it is to be noted, that into the *Exchequer* are paid, by Direction from the Lord-Treasurer, all the Sums destined to publick Uses, and the Interests of the Money borrowed upon Parliamentary Funds, which commonly cannot be raised under several Months or even Years.

The meaning of that Project.

There-

* The Substance of the Story, as it is told by Mr. Echard from a Manuscript of Sir Joseph Tyley's, is this ——— The King under pressing Necessities, promised the *White-Staff* to any one of his Ministers who could put him in a way to raise Fifteen Hundred Thousand Pounds without applying to his Parliament. The next Day Lord Ashley told Sir Thomas Clifford, That there was a Way to do this; but that it was dangerous, and might in its Consequences inflame both Parliament and People. Sir Thomas, impatient to know the Secret, plied the Lord Ashley with Visits, and having drunk him to a proper Height, led him insensibly to the Subject of the King's Indigence : Lord Ashley, warm and ungarded, drops the important Subject of *shutting up the Exchequer*. Sir Thomas took the Hint, left Ashley as soon as he could, went the same Night to *Whitethall*, and attending till the King rose, demanded the *White Staff*. The King renewed his Promise if the Money could be found, and then Sir Thomas disclosed the Secret. The Project was put in Execution, and Clifford advanced to be Treasurer, and created a Peer. Ashley was touched, and said, That Clifford had ploughed with his Heifer. However, to satisfy him, he was first made Earl of Shaftsbury, and soon after Lord Chancellor of England. Vol. III p. 288.

1671. Therefore when the King would have the Money all at once that has been granted him, he borrows it of private Hands at a large Interest, and assigns the Payment upon the *Exchequer*, which applies this way the Money raised from the granted Funds, in Proportion as it comes in. Moreover, at the Time I am speaking of, all the Monied-Men in *London*, not to keep too large Sums in their own Houses, put their Money into the Hands of Bankers and Goldsmiths without Interest. And when they wanted any Part, they gave Notes upon their Goldsmiths or Bankers, which were immediately paid. Now as it was morally impossible that all the private Persons who had Money thus lodged with a Banker or Goldsmith should have Occasion for it all at once, those who had the Money in their Hands contented themselves with keeping by them a Sum sufficient to answer the usual Demands, and lent the rest to the King at a large Interest upon the Parliamentary Funds. So that in shutting up the *Exchequer*, he received all the Money which came into it, without paying one Farthing of what was brought in. But at the same Time, the Persons who had put their Money into the Hands of Bankers and Goldsmiths were entirely ruined, since it was not in their Power to dispose of their Capital. And their Ruin was the more inevitable, as the *Bankers* refused even to pay any *Notes* drawn daily upon them, on Pretence that they received nothing out of the *Exchequer*. This caused an extreme Consternation in *London*; but the King and his Ministers pursued their own Measures, and deaf to the Complaints of so many ruined Families, kept the *Exchequer* shut up one Year, and then by a new Order some Months longer. But the wasting a Year or Eighteen Months was not the whole of this Misfortune. It is easy to imagine that the King having received all the Money which came into the *Exchequer* during this Time, the Sums which were brought in, when it was opened, were not sufficient to discharge the Arrears of these Eighteen Months. This

*The Ex-
chequer
shuts up.*

is the true State of the Affair, which opened the Mouths of the *English* against the King and the *Cabal*. But the Hopes which the *Cabal* then had to render the King absolute, made them very easy under the Complaints and Reproaches of the People.

But *Charles* had in his Head a Project which would furnish him with still more considerable Sums. This was to surprize the *Dutch* Fleet returning from *Smyrna* richly laden, before there was any Declaration of War. He had before tried the same Experiment on the *Bourdeaux* Fleet in the last War, and received a vast Advantage from it. The *Smyrna* Fleet was more rich, and inspired him with answerable Expectations. To this end he put to Sea Thirty-Six Men of War under the Command of *Holms*, who had Orders to cruise in the Channel, and intercept this Fleet as it passed by. *Holms* being informed that the *Dutch* Fleet was near, divided his own into three Squadrons. That of *Holland* consisted of Seventy-Two Sail of Merchant-Ships, many of them without Guns, and under the Convoy of Five Men of War, commanded by experienced Officers. These drew up the Merchant-men in three Squadrons in excellent Order, and put themselves between them and the *English* Fleet, after Orders given to pursue their Course without breaking their Line. *Holms* attacked this Fleet the 13th of *March*, and fought the whole Day without gaining the least Advantage. The next Day at Nine in the Morning the Fight was renewed, and lasted all that Day, though on the *Dutch* Side Captain *de Haes*, who acted as Admiral, had been killed about Twelve a Clock. On the Side of the *English* the Vice-Admiral's Ship was disabled. The following Day, at Eight in the Morning, *Holms*, who had been reinforced by some Frigats, renewed the Engagement, and at last took one Man of War, the Captain and almost all the Sailors being slain; and Three * Merchant Ships

1671.

1671-2.
The King
intends to
surprize
the Smyrna
Fleet
before he
had declared
War.

But with-
out success.

* Our Accounts say Four.

1671-2. which were brought into the *Thames*. This was all the Advantage the *English* received from an Action, which reflected no great Honour on the King. Care was taken at *London* to have this Engagement pass for the pure Effect of Chance, because the *Dutch* had refused to strike to the *English* Fleet. Though every Body talked pretty openly against so dishonourable an Action, the King, not at all moved by the Opinions of the Vulgar, and designing no Reparation for the Injury done to the *States*, in seizing their Ships before the War was declared, sent out a Squadron to meet Four *Dutch-India-Men*, which were immediately taken and condemned. At the same Time he ordered all the *Dutch* Ships in his Ports to be seized, though by an express Stipulation in the Treaty of *Breda* it was provided that, even after the Declaration of War, a certain Time should be allowed to the Merchants to withdraw their Effects. The *States*, seduced by so ill an Example, likewise made a Seizure of the *English* Ships. But upon the strong Representation of some of the Deputies, how much the Honour of Princes and *States* was wounded by these Sorts of Depredations; and that the King of *England*, acting against the Faith of Treaties, ought not to encourage the *States* to imitate so blameable a Conduct; the *English* Ships were discharged and sent into *England*. The King could not then help releasing some of the *Dutch* Ships, but would not restore all.

Four *India-Men*
taken.

1672. One of the Branches of the Project formed by the *Cabal* was, as I said, to render the King absolute, and this Branch comprehended under it the Extirpation of the *Protestant*, or at least the Introduction of the *Papist* Religion; though Father *Orleans*, and the Writers on the King's Side, when speaking of this Project, say nothing of this Point. Father *Orleans* however cannot help owning it in the Sequel of his History. I shall transcribe a Passage from him, which though extremely softened with relation to the Design, clearly shews that this was one of the Branches of the Project. After having spoke of what had passed with
rel on

relation to the Papists and other Non-conformists : He adds — *The King, who was by no means a good Christian in his Actions, though a Catholick in his Heart, did all that could be expected from his natural Indolence to preserve the common Liberty, that the Catholicks might enjoy the Benefit of it. But the Church of England prevailed, and Chancellor Hyde so distinguished his Zeal upon this Occasion, that the King was obliged to yield rather to his Importunities than his Reasons. It was therefore the Re-establishment of this Liberty of Conscience that the Lord Ashley believed necessary to the Execution of the projected Design. He communicated his Thoughts to his Colleagues of the Cabal, who were of his Opinion, not only on account of the Reason he alledged, which was, that by this means the Non-conformists would be gained, from whom so much was to be feared, but likewise on account of another, which was readily approved; namely, that by this means the Catholicks would be favoured, whom the greatest part of them loved, and the rest esteemed. Arlington and Clifford were secretly Catholicks, and both died in the Communion of the Church. Buckingham wanted nothing to further his Conversion, but to become a little more Master of himself with regard to his licentious way of Living and Thinking. Ashley was no Enemy to the Catholick Religion, till Interest and Malice warped and threw him into the contrary Party. The King's Consent was presumed on as he was a Catholick, and continued so to his Death, though Policy prevailed with him to pretend the contrary. The Duke of York supported the Design with all his Power. All the Difficulty lay in the Extent of this Liberty, and the two Kings of France and England acting in Concert, made this Affair a part of their Negotiation. Several Proposals were made for the Catholicks, some more, some less advantageous. France was for Methods which were most moderate, safe and suited to the Exigences of the Times. At last, it was agreed that Charles should grant Liberty of Conscience to all his Subjects in general.*

1672.
An Ex-
tract from
the History
of Father
Orleans.

1672.

It appears from this Passage that Religion was concerned in the Projects of *the Cabal*. But according to all appearance, some were for having the Progress of the *Papish* Religion made use of to render the King absolute, and others were for having the King made absolute to favour the Progress of *Popery*. This was the Reason that these two Articles were never separated, nor indeed could be, since they had so entire a Dependence the one upon the other. The King made this evident in his Declaration published for *Liberty of Conscience*, since he could not grant this Liberty without assuming a Power to abrogate *Acts* of Parliament, or at least suspend the Execution thereof so long as he pleased. This Declaration dated the 15th of *March* 1672, consisted of divers Articles, of which I shall here give the Substance:

Declara-
tion for
Liberty of
Conscience.

1. His Majesty publisheth it, in virtue of his supreme Power in Ecclesiastical Matters, which is a Right inherent in his Person, and acknowledged by several *Acts* of Parliament.
2. He declares his express Resolution to be, that the Church of *England* be preserved and remain entire in her Doctrine, Discipline, and Government, as now it stands established by Law.
3. That no Person shall be capable of holding any sort of Ecclesiastical Benefice or Preferment of any kind, who is not exactly conformable.
4. That the Execution of all Penal Laws in Matters Ecclesiastical against whatsoever Sort of *Non-conformists* or *Recusants*, be immediately suspended.
5. He declares that he will from time to time allow such a sufficient Number of Places, as shall be desired, in all Parts of his Kingdom, for such as did not conform to the Church of *England*, to meet and assemble in, in order to their publick Worship and Devotion.
6. That none of his Subjects do presume to meet in any Place until such Place be allowed, and the Teacher of that Congregation approved by him.

7. He declares that this Indulgence as to the Allowance of publick Places of Worship, and Approbation of Teachers, shall extend to all Sorts of *Non-conformists* and *Recusants*, except the *Recusants* of the *Roman Catholick Religion*, to whom he will no ways allow publick Places of Worship, but only indulge them their Share in the common Exemption from the execution of the *Penal Laws*, and the Exercise of their Worship in their private Houses only.

Two Days after the King published his Declaration of War against the *States*, dated the 17th of *March*. This Declaration, as well as that of the foregoing War, was founded upon a great many *Generalities*, and far-fetched Pretexts. *This is not to be avoided when War is first resolved on, and Reasons and Pretences are afterwards to be sought for*——“ The King deduced “ Historically the just Reasons which he had to begin “ the first War upon the *States*, though it had been “ ended by the Treaty of *Breda*. He added, that “ this Peace was no sooner concluded than it was “ violated by the *States* not sending Commissioners “ to *London* to settle the Commerce of the two Nations in the *East-Indies*: That when he sent over “ his Ambassador to put them in mind of it, he “ could not in three Years time get any Satisfaction “ from them in the material Points, nor a Forbearance of the Wrongs which his Subjects received in “ those Parts.”

It is easy to see to what great Discussions these Generals are liable. 1st Reflection.

“ 2. He said, that having restored *Surinam* to “ them, they obliged themselves by the Treaty of “ *Breda* to permit the *English* in that Colony to go “ off with their Effects; but that this was refused.”

The Dutch maintained on the contrary, that the English Inhabitants of Surinam remained there of their own accord. 2d Reflection.

1672.

" 3. He complained of abusive *Pictures* and *Medals* dispersed up and down in *Holland*, reflecting upon his Honour."

3d Reflexion.

The States in answer said, That they never knew of any of these abusive Medals besides one, and That they had ordered to be broke in pieces.

" 4. He said that in *Holland* his *Right of the Flag* had been treated with Contempt."

4th Reflexion.

It is easy to see whether his Pretension touching the Yatcht which brought over the Lady Temple was well grounded or not.

This was the Substance of what was most plausibly alledged for beginning this War. He ended with this Declaration — *And whereas we are engaged by a Treaty to support the Peace made at Aix-la-Chapelle, we do finally declare, That notwithstanding the Prosecution of this War, we will maintain the true Intent and Scope of the said Treaty, and that in all the Alliances which we have or shall make in the Progress of this War, we have and will take care to preserve the Ends thereof inviolable, unless provoked to the contrary.* He took but little care of his Honour, in pretending that in breaking with the States and leaguings with France, his Aim was to maintain the Treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*. But there was nothing so absurd which the *Cabal* did not think they could make Men swallow, though they were much mistaken, as will appear in the Sequel.

This War was so contrary to the Interests of *England* and all *Europe*, the Defence of which *Charles* had so often boasted to take in Hand by means of the *Triple-League*; it was so directly opposite to Justice, Equity, Honesty, and the Religion professed by the *English*, and publickly owned by the King, that no body could be persuaded there was any thing in it till the Blow was struck. The *Hollanders* imagined that he had no other Intention but to get a little Money from them, or at most to intimidate them till they had restored the Prince of *Orange* his Nephew to the

1672.

Posts held by his Ancestors. *France* her self could scarcely believe but that he had a Design to deceive her, till he had actually fallen upon the *Smyrna* Fleet. But all the World was mistaken in imagining that he had any kind of Affection for his People. His sole Aim was to render himself absolute in order to enjoy all the Wealth of *England* without controul, and without any Obligations to his Parliament. The Duke of *York*, his presumptive Heir, found his Account in so rare a Scheme, and besides, flattered himself with the Thought of establishing the Religion for which he was exceeding zealous. As for the *Cabal*, they were Men entirely destitute of all Principles of Honour, Justice, or Religion; each of them intent upon raising his own private Fortune upon the Ruin of the Publick. For no Man can believe that Persons of their Abilities could be ignorant, that what they were acting was directly contrary to the Interests of *England*. They did not so much as fancy that they were able to execute their grand Project without a strict Alliance first made with the King of *France*, who had the Address to persuade them that after the Republick of *Holland* should be destroyed, both Crowns would unite to render the King absolute in *England*, and establish the *Papish* Religion. But they had reason afterwards to see how much they were deceived in their Reliance upon *France*. Indeed it was no Interest of the *French* King's to render the King of *England* absolute at Home, but rather to propagate and keep up Division between the King and his Subjects, in which, by seeming to enter into the Views of the *Cabal*, he was but too successful. But the Execution of the Project met with one Obstacle, which these secret Counsellors might have foreseen, and perhaps did foresee without being able to help it. This was the King's immense Prodigality, which was the Reason that all the Sums received from *France* and the Parliament were insufficient to support the War two whole Years, so that there was a Necessity of having recourse to the

1672.

Parliament, which in the end broke their well-concerted Measures. On the other Hand, this Project having given an Alarm to all *Europe*, the *States* found Friends to stand by them, and render the Execution very difficult.

The French
King de-
clares War
against
Holland

The same Day that the Declaration of War was published against the *States* at *London*, the like was published at *Paris*, supported with no better Grounds: For the King of *France* gave no other Reason of the War than his *Displeasure* at the Carriage of the *States*. This Union between *France* and *England* (which then appeared openly, notwithstanding the great Care to conceal it hitherto) showed the Impertinence of what the King ordered the Lord-Keeper to tell the Parliament, *That common Prudence required that his Majesty should make suitable Preparations, when France had such Forces both at Land and Sea.* It appeared by this that the King made no Conscience of telling his Parliament one thing, whilst he intended another, which could not but lose him the Confidence of his People, as it did in Effect.

The Bishop
of Mun-
ster de-
clares War
against the
Dutch.
The Elec-
tor of Co-
logne an
Ally of
France.

About a Month afterwards the Bishop of *Munster* likewise proclaimed War against the *Dutch*, on pretence that they had endeavoured to corrupt the Governours of his frontier Places. As for the Elector of *Cologne* he had already brought *French* Troops into his Dominions to provide, as he pretended, for his own Security. But though he protested an Intention to observe an exact Neutrality, the *States* were fully acquainted with the Treaty he had made with *France*. Thus were four Princes combined together utterly to destroy the Republick of the *United-Provinces*, not to mention several Princes of *Germany* engaged beforehand by the King of *France* to stand Neuter, in order to tie up their Hands from giving any Assistance to the *Dutch*.

Offers
made by
the States
to pacify
the King.

The *States* having for some time seen this Storm gathering, endeavoured to divert it, by offering the King of *England* all the Satisfaction he could reasonably expect. They offered to agree to whatever he

he desired with Regard to the Flag, and besides, they had on the 24th of *February* made the Prince of *Orange* Captain-General and Admiral, though he was then but Two and Twenty Years of Age. They believed that this would content the King his Uncle, being ignorant that his Design was to overturn their Republick, without any Thought or Concern for the Interests of the Prince of *Orange*. This Change in favour of the young Prince would, it may be, have never been made, had it not been deemed necessary to appease the King of *England*. There were three Parties in *Holland*: That of the Pensioner, which bore the greatest Sway, and was called the *Louvestein*-Party, from the Name of the Castle where the Prince's Father had shut up the Leading-Men of that Faction; That of the Prince of *Orange*; and a Third which affected a Neutrality, and had as yet declared for neither of the other Two. But on this Occasion this Third Faction believed it of absolute Necessity to come into that of the Prince of *Orange*, in hopes of satisfying the King of *England*. The *States* therefore sent a Deputation to the Prince to make him the Offer of the Dignities of Captain-General and Admiral, and the Pensioner *de Wit*, to his Mortification, was appointed Head of this Deputation. Thus the Prince of *Orange* saw himself Captain-General but without an Army, or at least with a very small one, filled for the most Part with unexperienced Officers, advanced more for their Attachment to the Pensioner, than any personal Merit of their own.

I shall not give a particular Account of the Progress of the King of *France*, and his two Allies the Bishop of *Munster* and the Elector of *Cologne*, in the first Campaign. This is so well known, that it would be Time thrown away to relate it. Let it suffice to observe, that the King of *France* took the Field in the Beginning of *May*; made himself Master of several Places upon the *Rhine*, almost without any Opposition; and swimming that River, became Master of

1672.
The Prince
of Orange
made Cap-
tain-Gen-
eral and
Admiral.

Progress
and Con-
quests of
the King
of France.

of

1672
of the Bi-
shop of
Munster.

of all *Guelderland* and the Towns upon the *Iffel*; and that *Utrecht* sent Deputies as far as *Doesburg* to meet him with the Tender of submitting to his Orders. At the same Time the Bishop of *Munster*, after having laid waste the Province of *Overysfel*, fell upon *Friesland* and *Groningben*, so that only *Holland* and *Zealand* remained free, and even the former was threatened with a like Invasion.

But this was by no Means all that the *States* had to fear. Whilst Three of their Provinces were lost, Two more attacked, the Danger from Sea was full as great. The two Fleets of *France* and *England* joined the Beginning of *May*; the first consisting of Forty, and the last of a Hundred Sail of Men of War. That of the *States* had Seventy-two large Ships, and Forty Frigats and Fireships, and consequently was far short in Number of the combined Fleets of *England* and *France*. It was commanded by the famous *Ruyter*, assisted by *Cornelius de Wit* the Pensioner's Brother, as Deputy from the *States*. *Ruyter* having put to Sea before the Enemies Fleets were joined, had done his utmost to prevent the Junction. But not succeeding, and being informed that the two Fleets rode at Anchor at *Solebay* in the County of *Suffolk*, he resolved to fall upon them there. He had like to have surprized them, but being disappointed prepared for an Engagement. The two Fleets of *France* and *England* (making now but one) were ranged in Three Squadrons. The Duke of *York*, Lord High-Admiral of *England*, commanded the *Red Squadron*; the Count *d'Estrées* the *White*; and the Earl of *Sandwich* the *Blue*. The Fleet of the *States* was likewise divided in the same Manner; *Ruyter* being opposed to the Duke of *York*, *Bankers* to Count *d'Estrées*, and *Van Ghent* to the Earl of *Sandwich*. All that I can gather from the various Descriptions of this Battle, fought on the 28th of *May*, is, that both Sides displayed all the Art and Skill which Experience had given the Commanders and

A naval
Engage-
ment at
Solebay.

and Officers of either; that they fought with equal Bravery, with almost equal Loss, and both Sides challenged the Victory. The Admiral's Ship of the *English* being disabled, the Duke of *York* was obliged to hoist his Flag on board another. The *Royal James* commanded by the Earl of *Sandwich* not being able to disengage from the *Fireship*, after she had sunk *Two*, was blown up with the Earl and her whole Crew*. The *English* lost two Ships more, the *Hollanders* Three, and *Van Ghent* was killed. The Historians of the two Parties equally pretend to the Honour of chasing the Enemies Fleet, but both the one and the other speak in a manner which discovers no great Assurance. For it is not with Engagements at Sea as with those at Land, where commonly he that remains upon the Field of Battle has a Right to assume the Honour of the Victory: Whereas in Naval Engagements, a Fog, a Calm, a Wind, either contrary or tempestuous, may force the Fleet which has had the Advantage to retire the first. However this be, Bonfires were equally made at *London* and the *Hague* for Joy of this Victory, though with very little Reason on either Side. The *English* complained that the *French* were wanting in their Duty, and only fought at a Distance, after they had separated from the Fleet. This Conduct was ascribed to secret Orders given to Count *d'Estrées* not to expose too much his Majesty's Ships, but to leave the *English* and *Dutch* Fleets to effect their own Destruction.

The Villainy uncor-
tain.

Sometime

* Of the Thousand Men on board, Six Hundred were killed on the Deck. When the Ship was on Fire, the Earl retired to his Cabin, where he was followed by his Captain *Sir Richard Had-dock*, who finding him with a Handkerchief before his Eyes, told him of the Danger; but he answered, *He saw how things went, and was resolved to perish with the Ship*. It seems the Day before, the Duke of *York* had let fall some Words that reflected on the Earl's Courage.

1672.
Advancement
at
Court.

The King
suspends
the Execu-
tion of two
Acts of
Parlia-
ment.

Holland
in a most
deplorable
Condition.

Sometime before, the King had created the Earl of *Lauderdale* a Duke of the same Name; the Lord *Ashley*, Earl of *Shaftsbury*; the Lord *Arlington*, Earl of *Arlington*; and Sir *Thomas Clifford*, Lord *Clifford*. At or about the same time Sir *Thomas Osborn* was sworn into the Privy-Council, and the new Duke of *Lauderdale* and the Earl of *Arlington* received the Order of the *Garter*. These Promotions were doubtless the King's Acknowledgements to these Members of the *Cabal* for the great Services done him in advising him to suspend, by his sole Authority, the Execution of two Acts of Parliament, till he should think fit to take off the Suspension. Though this Suspension was in itself no way disadvantageous to the Publick; nevertheless, as it proceeded from the same Principle by which the King assumed to himself a Power of suspending the Penal Laws against the *Non-conformists*, it was sufficiently clear that he would not stop there.

I have already taken notice of the sad Condition of the *States-General*. Two of the *Provinces*, that is to say, *Guelderland* and *Utrecht* were in Possession of the *French*. *Overyssel* was in the Hands of the Elector of *Cologne* and the Bishop of *Munster*. The two *Provinces* of *Friesland* and *Groningen* were not only threatned, but actually attacked. In short, the Province of *Holland* found no readier Way to stop the Progress of the *French* King, who was at *Utrecht*, than by opening the *Sluices*, and laying the Country under Water. This melancholy Situation of Affairs gave terrible Uneasiness to the People of *Holland*, and as the Pensioner *de Wit* had been many Years at the Head of Affairs, all the Calamities which his Country felt were charged to his ill Conduct. But the Populace went still farther, and openly accused him of having betrayed his Country. At last this general Discontent rose into Sedition, and brought the *States* of *Holland* to a Resolution to vacate the perpetual

Edi t

Edict made in the Year 1667, by which they had obliged themselves never to admit the Prince of Orange to the Dignity of *Stadtholder*. The People were discharged from the Obligation which an Oath for that Purpose laid on them, and the Prince was admitted to the Office of *Stadtholder*. Some time after the two Brothers *Cornelius* and *John de Wit*, one grand Bailiff of *Putten*, and the other Pensioner of *Holland*, but who had lately thrown up his Employ, were torn to Pieces by the Rabble of the *Hague*. The Story is too well known to mention any of the Circumstances of it. Let it suffice to say, that the Prince of Orange remained in peaceable Possession of the Government of *Holland* and *Zealand*. *Friesland* and *Groningen* had a separate *Stadtholder*. The young Prince *John Casimir* of *Nassau*, was under the Tuition of the Princess his Mother, and the other three Provinces, were in the Hands of the Enemy.

The King of France, who ever dreaded the Advancement of the Prince of Orange, no sooner saw him invested with this eminent Dignity, than he endeavoured to corrupt him with the offered Sovereignty of *Holland*. But he found this young Prince deaf to all his Offers, and resolute to serve the State which had honoured him with its Government, to the last Moment of his Life. The King of England seconded his Ally in this Design. The States had sent Ambassadors to him with Proposals of Peace, as they had done to the King of France then at *Utrecht*. But the King, after a Refusal of treating otherwise than in Conjunction with France, and fearing the States had a Design to disunite, or give him and his Brother of France a mutual Distrust of each other, dispatched the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Earl of *Arlington*, (two Members of the Cabal) into *Holland*, on Pretence of treating of a Peace jointly with France: These Ambassadors passing through the *Hague*, in their way to *Utrecht*, affected to give out, that they

1672.

Admits
the Prince
of Orange
to the Office
of *Stadtholder*.
The two
De Wits
torn to Pieces
by the
Rabble.

The King
of France
tries to corrupt
the
Prince of
Orange,
but in
vain.

Charles
sends Ambassadors
into *Holland*.

were

1672. The Ways and Means to effect a Peace mentioned
The King's in the Proclamation were, the Demand, of the King's
Demands two Ambassadors sent to *Utrecht*, of a Million of
for a Peace. Pounds *Sterling*, to defray the Expences of the War;
 the Compliment of the Flag without any Exception;
 a Hundred Thousand Pounds Yearly for the Liberty
 of Fishing; the Sovereignty of all that should re-
 main of the *United Provinces*, for his Nephew the
 Prince of *Orange*; a Participation of the whole *In-*
dia-Trade enjoyed by the *States*; the Town of *Sluis*,
 the Isles of *Cadfant*, *Walcheron*, *Goeree*, *Voerne*; and
 lastly, an entire Satisfaction to the King of *France*.
 One must have been as obstinate as were the *States*
 to find any Fault with such reasonable Demands.
 Consequently the King could not in Honour excuse
 himself from continuing the War, and keeping the
Exchequer shut to maintain it.

Coventry Sir *John Trevor* dying this Year, Sir *Henry Coven-*
made Se- try, lately returned from *Sweden*, where he had suc-
cretary, cessfully negotiated for the King, succeeded him in
 the Office of Secretary of State.

andShafts- Sir *Orlando Bridgeman* resigning the Great-Seal, the
bury Lord new Earl of *Shaftsbury* was made Lord High-Chan-
Chancellor cellor. A few Days after the King kept his Promise
 with *Clifford*, by making him Lord-Treasurer, so
 that all the great Offices of the State were held by
 the *Cabal*, or by Persons devoted to their Interests.
 But to let the Reader see how the five Lords of the
Cabal flattered the King, and one another at a Time
 when the Nation was loudly exclaiming against the
 Government, I shall insert here Part of a Speech
 made by the Lord *Shaftsbury*, as Chancellor, to the
 Lord *Clifford*, when he tendred him the Oath in *West-*
minster-Hall, upon his Admission to the Office of
 Treasurer. After he had represented to him the Du-
 ties of the Post he was entring upon, he added,—
 “ My Lord, I may justly say you are in a Place o
 “ the very first Rank as to Dignity, Power, Trust
 “ and Influence of Affairs; a Place that require
 “ su

“ such a Man as our great Master’s Wisdom hath
 “ found for it; from whose natural Temper we may
 “ expect Courage, Quickness, and Resolution; from
 “ whose Education, Wisdom, and Experience; and
 “ from whose Extraction, that Noble and Illustrious
 “ House of the *Cliffords* *, an heroick Mind, a large
 “ Soul, and an unshaken Fidelity to the Crown. My
 “ Lord, it is a great Honour, much even beyond the
 “ Place itself, that you are chosen to it by the King,
 “ who, without Flattery, I may say, is as great a
 “ Master in the Knowledge of Men and Things, as
 “ this, or any other Age hath produced: And let me
 “ say farther, it is not only your Honour that you
 “ are chosen by him, but your Safety too, that you
 “ have him to serve; with whom no subtle Insinua-
 “ tions of any near him, nor the aspiring Interest of
 “ a Favourite, shall ever prevail against those that
 “ serve him well. Nor can his Servants fear to be
 “ sacrificed to the Malice, Fury, or Mistake of a
 “ more popular swelling Greatness: A Prince under
 “ whom the unfortunate fall gently: A Prince, in a
 “ Word, that best of all Mankind deserves the Title
 “ of *Deliciæ Humani Generis*. Let me end with this
 “ Wish, or rather Prophecy, that you may exceed
 “ all your Predecessors in this Place; the Abilities
 “ and Fidelity of the renowned Lord *Burleigh*; the
 “ Sagacity, Quickness, and great Dispatch of his
 “ Son the Lord *Salisbury*; and the Uprightness, In-
 “ tegrity, and Wisdom of that great Man that went
 “ last before you, the Earl of *Southampton* ”.

It will be seen hereafter, that the Earl of *Shaftsbury*
 preserved not long these Sentiments of Esteem and
 Admiration for the King, expressed in this Speech.

* The Treasurer was not descended from the *Cliffords* Earls of
Cumberland, which Family was extinct before the Restoration.

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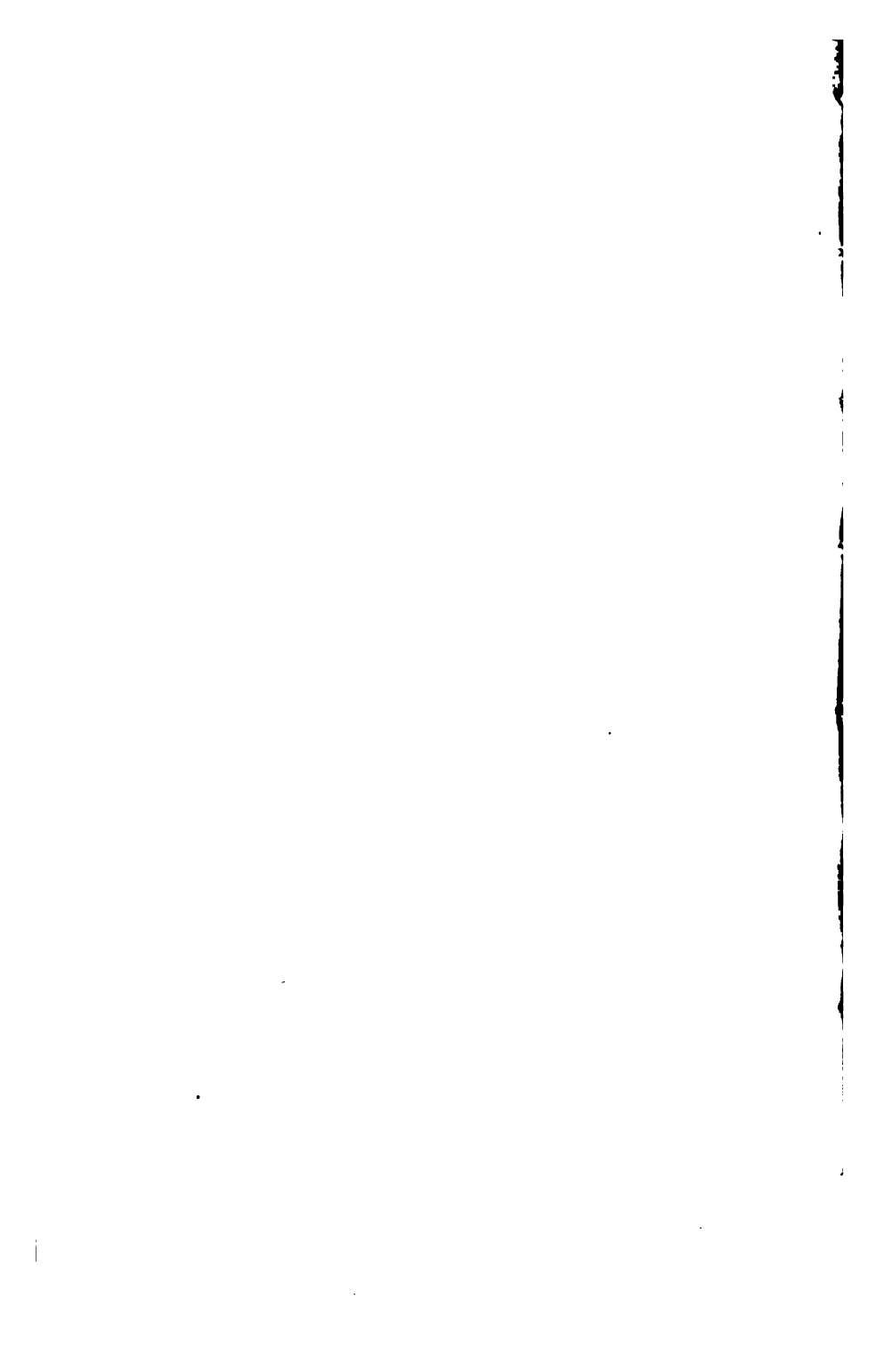
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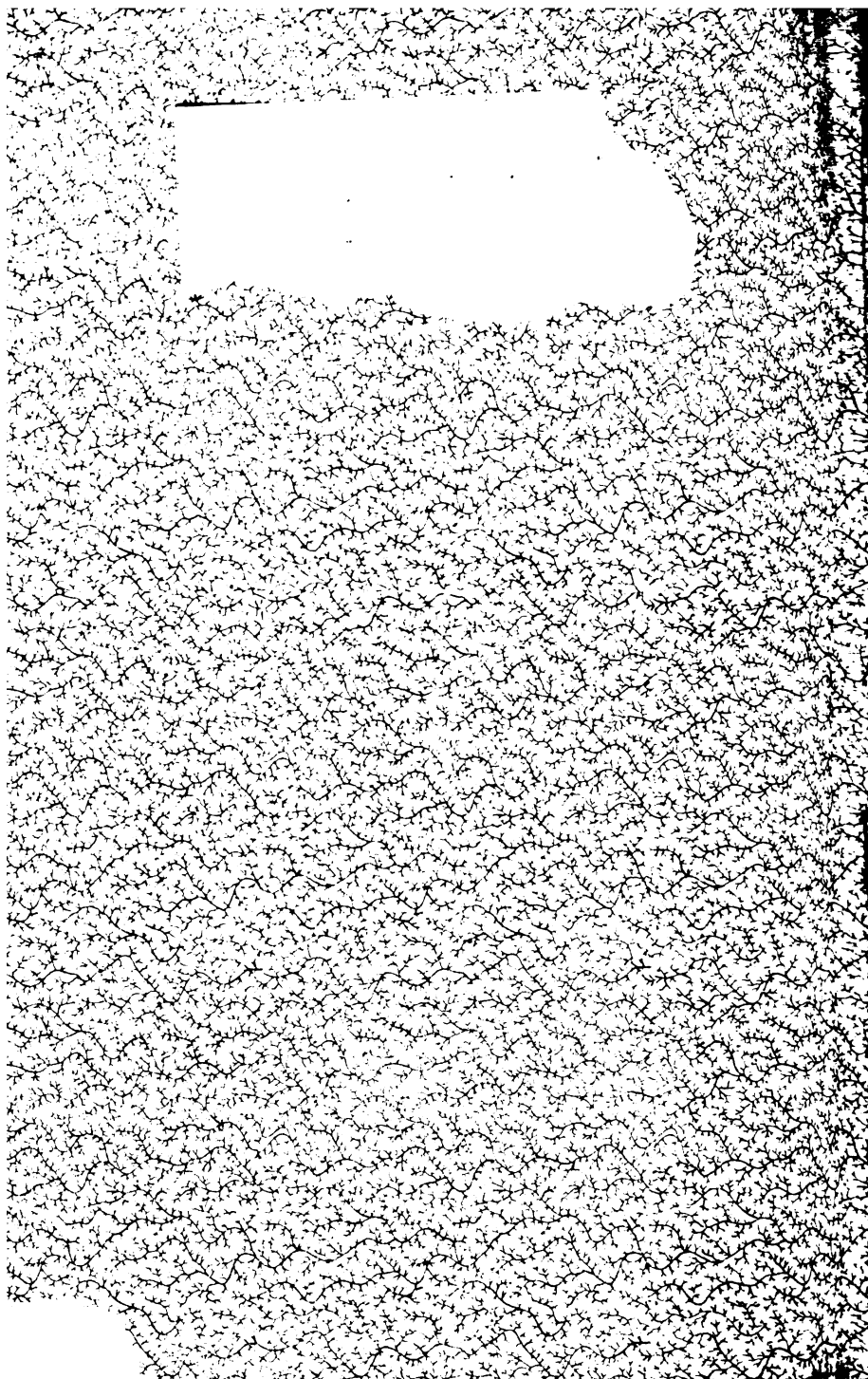
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